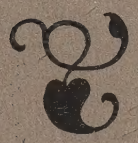
ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance and Modern



ART STUDIES

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/artstudiesmediev0007memb

Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. *Majestas Domini*. Detail.
(Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance and Modern

EDITED BY MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF
THE FINE ARTS AT HARVARD AND PRINCETON
UNIVERSITIES

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1929

COPYRIGHT, 1929
BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF
HARVARD COLLEGE

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

ART STUDIES 1929

ARTHUR SACHS FOUNDATION

EDITORS

A. KINGSLEY PORTER
Harvard University

CHARLES RUFUS MOREY
Princeton University

CONSULTING EDITORS

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.
CHANDLER RATHFON POST
PAUL J. SACHS
E. BALDWIN SMITH

MANAGING EDITOR

BELLE DA COSTA GREENE

ADVISORY COUNCIL

BERNARD BERENSON
FREDERICK M. CLAPP
PAUL CLEMEN
LOUIS DEMONTS
CHARLES DIEHL
CAMPBELL DODGSON
MAX J. FRIEDLANDER
ROGER FRY
ADOLPH GOLDSCHMIDT
MONTAGUE R. JAMES
RAYMOND KOECHLIN
GEORG LEIDINGER
EMILE MÂLE
GABRIEL MILLET
MANUEL GÓMEZ-MORENO
PAUL PELLIOT
LOUIS RÉAU
JOHNNY ROOSVAL
MIKHAIL ROSTOVTZEFF
JOHN SHAPLEY
ERNST STEINMANN
JOSEPH STRZYGOSWKI
JOHN J. TIKKANEN
PIETRO TOESCA
ADOLFO VENTURI
ARTHUR WALEY
A. WARBURG
YUKIO YASHIRO

94969

CONTENTS

PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS IN THE GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPTS, PART II 3
A. M. Friend, Jr.

THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS 33
Helen Woodruff

A SPANISH ALTAR FRONTAL IN THE GUALINO COLLECTION 83
Walter W. S. Cook

A GOTHIC REWORKING OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS 89
Marion Lawrence

THE GOTHIC FRESCOS AT MONTE SIEPI 107
George Rowley

PIETRO LORENZETTI 131
Ernest T. DeWald

NORTH ITALIAN GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY 169
Donald Drew Egbert

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations will be found opposite or following the page number given

Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Majestas Domini. Detail. (*Photo. Frick Art Reference Library*) Frontispiece

The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts, Part II

1. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 9v. John, Matthew.* (*Venturi*) 3
2. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 10. Luke, Mark.* (*Venturi*) 3
3. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 9. Elisha, Malachi.* (*Venturi*) 4
4. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 10v.* (*Venturi*) 4
5. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 4. Samuel, Joshua.* (*Venturi*) 6
6. *Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence. Folio 8. Jeremiah, Zechariah.* (*Venturi*) 6
7. *Rabula Gospels. Matthew* 8
8. *British Museum* (*Cat. No. 849*). *Statuette of a Sophist* 8
9. *Pompeii, Court of the Stabian Baths* (*Mau*). *Stage front in Fourth Style* 8
10. *New York, Metropolitan Museum. Wall decoration from Villa at Boscoreale* (*Phot. Metropolitan Museum*) *inspired by painted scenery of the Hellenistic Proscenium* 10
11. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43* (*Millet*) *Mark* 10
12. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43* (*Millet*) *Luke* 10
13. *New York, Metropolitan Museum. Wall decoration from Villa at Boscoreale* (*Phot. Metropolitan Museum*) 12
14. *London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 22506. Mark* 14
15. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43. Luke* 14
16. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43. Matthew* 14
17. *Ephesus, the late Hellenistic Theatre* (*Frickenhaus*) 16
18. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43. Mark* 16
19. *London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 22506. Matthew* 16
20. *Etschmiadzin Gospels* (*Byz. Denk.*) 18
21. *Etschmiadzin Gospels* (*Byz. Denk.*) 18

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

22. *Vienna, Library of ekhMitarist Fathers, Ms. 697. IX–X century. (Macler)* 18
23. *Etschmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, Ms. 362. Written in Monastery of St. Gregory, Melitene, A.D. 1057 (Macler)* 18
24. *Paris, Coll. S. Sevadjian No. 5 (Macler). X century (?)* 18
25. *Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke, A.D. 902. Matthew* 20
26. *Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke, A. D. 902. Mark* 20
27. *Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke, A.D. 902. Luke* 20
28. *Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke, A.D. 902. John* 20
29. *Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Armen., I, A.D. 1278 (Leidinger)., Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Grner. Matthew* 22
30. *Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Armen., I, A.D. 1278 (Leidinger). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Grner. Mark* 22
31. *Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Armen., I, A.D. 1278 (Leidinger). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Grner. Luke* 22
32. *Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Armen., I, A.D. 1278 (Leidinger). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Grner. John and Prochoros* 22
33. *Tübingen, University Library, Gospels Ma XIII, 1, A.D. 1113 (Strzygowski). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Drasark. Mark* 22
34. *Tübingen, University Library, Gospels Ma XIII, 1, A.D. 1113 (Strzygowski). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Drasark. Luke* 22
35. *Tübingen, University Library, Gospels Ma XIII, 1, A.D. 1113 (Strzygowski). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery of Drasark. John and Prochoros* 22
36. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 740. John and Prochoros* 22
37. *Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43. Luke* 24
38. *Woodcut by Edward Gordon Craig. Theatre scene (Woodcuts and some Words)* 24
39. *Pompeii, Casa dei Gladiatori (Palaestra). Theatre scene in Fourth Pompeian Style (Niccolini)* 24
40. *Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke. Matthew* 24

The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius

1. *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12. Arithmetic of Boethius (Boinet)* 33
2. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (42), Luxuria enters battle in biga; (43), Luxuria flatters the Virtues* 33
3. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)* 33
4. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)* 33
5. *Collection A. Chester Beatty. Manuscript of School of Tours, 9th century (Catalogue of H. Y. Thompson Coll.)* 33

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

6. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. Psalter (Boinet)* 36
7. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (1), Abraham sacrificing Isaac* 36
8. *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. Psalter (Boinet)* 36
9. *Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12. Arithmetic of Boethius (Boinet)* 36
10. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (6), Abraham and the Angels* 38
11. *Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31. Vienna Genesis (detail) (Wickhoff)* 38
12. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1) (Stettiner)* 38
13. *Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. I, 56. Gospel of Rabula* 38
14. *Rossano, Cathedral Library, Codex Purpureus* 38
15. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 3784. St. Éparque (Delisle)* 38
16. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10791. St. Augustine. 11th century* 40
17. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Romanus denounced by the Prefect* 40
18. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God* 40
19. *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phil. 1832. Middle Rhine. 10th century. Orion* 40
20. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Physiologus, Nycticorax (detail)* 40
21. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. Evangelary. St. Matthew. From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century* 42
22. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (14), Pudicitia inveighs against Libido* 42
23. *Leyden, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9987–91 (B1). Scene (58), Avaritia as cause of crime* 42
24. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. Evangelary. Holy Women at Sepulchre. From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century* 42
25. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (13), Pudicitia strikes Libido with a sword* 42
26. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (58), Avaritia as cause of crime (Stettiner)* 42
27. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (10), Fides crowns the martyrs* 44
28. *Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 438. Wandalbertus' Calendar, November (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)* 44
29. *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64. St. Paul and the Jews. 10th century (Phot. Baumgartner)* 44
30. *Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 438. Wandalbertus' Calendar, August (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)* 46
31. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448. Troper of Prüm. 10th century* 46

32. *Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. lat. 438. Wandalbertus' Calendar, April (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)* 46
33. *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64* 46
34. *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64* 46
35. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (32), Superbia rides down Humilitas and Spes (Phot. Völliger)* 46
36. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (8), Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* 46
37. *Cairo, Museum. Relief (Dalton)* 46
38. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (2), Lot captured by the kings; The captives (Stettiner)* 46
39. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8313 (P1). Superbia and Humilitas (Stettiner)* 46
40. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum (Stettiner)* 46
41. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (1), Abraham sacrificing Isaac; (2), Lot captured by the kings; (3) Abraham rescues Lot; (4), Abraham returns with Lot (Phot. Rameau)* 48
42. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (2), Lot captured by the kings* 48
43. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (10), Fides crowns the martyrs* 50
44. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 3 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 50
45. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (12), Pudicitia disarms Libido* 50
46. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 11v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 50
47. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (89), Sapientia seated in the temple* 50
48. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 7v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 50
49. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (1), Abraham sacrificing Isaac; (2), Lot captured by the kings (Stettiner)* 50
50. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (2), Lot captured by the kings; (3), Abraham rescues Lot* 50
51. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 30v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 50
52. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (30), Superbia rides spirited horse* 50
53. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 5 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 50

54. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword; (17), Patientia undaunted by the Vices* 52

55. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 13v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 52

56. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 79v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 52

57. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 4 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 52

58. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 9 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 52

59. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 15 (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 54

60. *London, British Museum, Add. 24199 (Lo1). Scene (40), Luxuria feasting (Phot. Fleming)* 54

61. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (40), Luxuria feasting (Stettiner)* 54

62. *Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. Utrecht Psalter, fol. 24v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)* 54

63. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (84), Fides assembles men (Stettiner)* 54

64. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (89), Sapientia seated in the temple (Stettiner)* 54

65. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q.3 (Le2). Scene (39), Spes flies to Heaven* 56

66. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (40), Luxuria feasting* 56

67. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (40), Luxuria feasting; (42), Luxuria enters battle in chariot* 56

68. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (44), Luxuria persuades men to throw down arms* 56

69. *London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Christ in the house of Simon (detail) (Goldschmidt)* 56

70. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God* 58

71. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God (Phot. Langsberg)* 58

72. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God* 58

73. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God (Stettiner)* 58

74. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God; (8) Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum (Stettiner)* 58

75. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God (Stettiner)* 58

76. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (7), Prudentius invokes God* 58

77. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)* 58

78. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)* 58

79. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (18), Patientia accosted by Ira (Stettiner)* 58

80. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (17), Patientia undaunted by the Vices (Stettiner)* 58

81. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (19), Patientia derided by Ira (Stettiner)* 58

82. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (13), Pudicitia stabs Libido with sword; (14), Pudicitia inveighs against Libido; (15), Pudicitia washes sword; (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword; (17), Patientia undaunted by the Vices* 60

83. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (69), Largitas divides the spoils (Stettiner)* 60

84. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (13), Pudicitia stabs Libido (Stettiner)* 60

85. *Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. Codex Romanus, fol. 16v (detail)* 60

86. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (69), Largitas divides the spoils (Stettiner)* 60

87. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (69), Largitas divides the spoils (Stettiner)* 60

88. *Brussels, Bibliothéque Royale, Ms. 9987–91 (B1). Scene (28), Patientia addresses Virtues* 60

89. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (13), Pudicitia stabs Libido (Stettiner)* 60

90. *Brescia Museum, Ivory Casket* 60

91. *Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. Codex Romanus, fol. 100v.* 60

92. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (28), Patientia addresses Virtues* 60

93. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (22), Ira attacks Patientia with sword; (23), Ira's sword breaks; (24), Ira kills herself; (25), Patientia inveighs against Ira; (26), Patientia with Job; (27), Patientia advises Job; (28), Patientia addresses Virtues* 62

94. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (26), Patientia with Job* 62

95. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (26), Patientia with Job (Stettiner)* 62

96. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (28), Patientia addresses Virtues (Stettiner)* 62

97. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (26), Patientia with Job* 62

98. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (15), Pudicitia washes sword (Stettiner)* 62

99. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (15), Pudicitia washes sword* 62

100. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (4), Abraham returns with Lot* 62

101. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (15), Pudicitia washes sword (Stettiner)* 62

102. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (15), Pudicitia washes sword (Phot. Langsberg)* 62

103. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (4), Abraham returns with Lot (Stettiner)* 62

104. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (5), Abraham and Melchisedek; (6), Abraham and the Angels; (7), Prudentius invokes God; (8), Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum; (9), Fides conquers Cultura Deorum; (10), Fides crowns the martyrs; (11), Pudicitia attacked by Libido; (12), Pudicitia disarms Libido* 64

105. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword* 64

106. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword (Stettiner)* 64

107. *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (G). Scene (15), Pudicitia washes sword; (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword* 64

108. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (16), Pudicitia dedicates sword* 64

109. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (37), Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes; (38), Spes inveighs against Superbia; (39), Spes (Humilitas) flies to Heaven; (40), Luxuria feasting; (41), Luxuria hears battle trumpets; (42), Luxuria enters battle in biga* 66

110. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (24), Ira kills herself* 66

111. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (37), Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes (Stettiner)* 66

112. *Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (24), Ira kills herself (Stettiner)* 66

113. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (24), Ira kills herself* 66

114. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (37), Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes (Stettiner)* 66

115. *Cologne, Dombibliothek, Ms. 81 (K). Scene (3), Messenger comes to Abraham (Stettiner)* 66

116. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3), Messenger comes to Abraham; Abraham rescues Lot* 66

117. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3′), Abraham pursues the kings* 66

118. *Cologne, Dombibliothek, Ms. 81 (K). Scene (4), Abraham returns with Lot; (3′), Abraham pursues the kings (Stettiner)* 66

119. *Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (4), Abraham returns with Lot; (5), Abraham and Melchisedek* 66

120. *Munich, Stadtbibliothek, Clm. 29031b (M). Scene (9), Fides conquers Cultura Deorum* 66

121. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (76), Virtues arrive at city* 68

122. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (74), Concordia orders standards into camp* 68

123. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (76), Virtues arrive at city* 68

124. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (76), Virtues arrive at city* 68

125. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (74), Concordia orders standards into camp* 68

126. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (74), Concordia orders standards into camp* 68

127. *Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (88), Temple; (89), Sapientia seated in temple* 68

128. *Rome, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1567. Agrimensores (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)* 68

129. *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (B). Scene (89), Sapientia seated in temple (Stettiner)* 68

130. *S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. Detail from Presentation of Christ in Temple (Wilpert)* 68

131. *British Museum. Graeco-Roman Gem. Serapis enthroned (Dalton)* 68

132. *Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Gr. 699. Cosmas Indicopleustes (Cod. e Vat. Selecti)* 70

133. *Stuttgart, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 23. Psalter, fol. 157 (Phot. DeWald)* 70

134. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448. Troper of Prüm* 70

135. *Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). Abraham sacrificing Isaac (Wilpert)* 70
136. *S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. Abraham and the Angels (Wilpert)* 72
137. *Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31 (detail). Vienna Genesis (Wickhoff)* 72
138. *Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). Abraham and the Angels (Wilpert)* 72
139. *London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Embroidery. Annunciation and Visitation (Dalton)* 72
140. *Trier, Cathedral Treasury, Ivory. Translation of Relics (Dalton)* 72
141. *S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. Moses sends spies into Canaan; Revolt of the Jews (Wilpert)* 74
142. *Milan, Ambrosian Library, F. 205. Ambrosian Iliad, fol. 31v (Ceriani)* 74

A Spanish Altar Frontal in the Gualino Collection

1. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Ensemble (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 83
2. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Evangelistic symbol of St. John (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 84
3. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Evangelistic symbol of St. Matthew (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 84
4. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostles (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 85
5. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostle St. Bartholomew. Detail (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 86
6. *Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostle St. Simon. Detail. (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)* 86

A Gothic Reworking of an Early Christian Sarcophagus

1. *Mantua. Cathedral. Sarcophagus* 89
2. *Verona. S. Giovanni in Valle. Sarcophagus* 89
3. *Restoration of Sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral* 89
4. *Mantua. Cathedral. Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus* 92
5. *Mantua. Cathedral. Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus* 92
6. *Ancona. Cathedral. Left Face of Sarcophagus* 93
7. *Ancona. Cathedral. Detail of Back of Sarcophagus* 93
8. *Restoration of Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral* 93

9. *Paris. Louvre. St. Geneviève* 93
10. *Milan. Cathedral. Relief* 96
11. *Milan. Cathedral. Relief* 96
12. *Saint-Gilles. West Façade. St. Matthew* 96
13. *Arles. St. Trophîme. Cloister. Detail of St. Trophîme* 97
14. *Mantua. Cathedral. Detail of Right End of Sarcophagus* 97
15. *Moulins. Museum. Detail of Figure of St. John from St. Léger, Ebreuil* 97
16. *Toulouse. Museum. Detail of Gabriel of Annunciation Group* 97
17. *Laon. Cathedral. Reliefs of West Façade* 97
18. *Reims. Cathedral. St. Sixtus Portal. Ste. Eutropie* 98
19. *Bamberg. Cathedral. Georgenchor. Two Prophets* 98
20. *Bamberg. Cathedral. Adamstür: Queen Kunigunde* 98
21. *Cologne. S. Maria im Kapitol. Detail of Monument of Plectrudis* 98
22. *Bamberg. Cathedral. Gnadentür. Tympanum* 100
23. *Padua. S. Giustina. Tympanum* 102
24. *Strassburg. Cathedral. Tympanum* 102
25. *Treviso. Cathedral. Christ Enthroned* 103
26. *Verona. S. Zeno. Pontile. Apostle* 103
27. *Venice. S. Marco. Cappella Zen. Zechariah* 103

THE GOTHIC FRESCOS OF MONTE SIEPI

1. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Madonna and Child with Saints and Eve* 107
2. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 1. Madonna and Child* 110
3. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 1. Saints* 112
4. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. San Galgano presenting Rock and Sword to Angel* 114
5. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Company of Saints and Angels* 116
6. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Angel of the Annunciation* 118
7. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Virgin of the Annunciation* 120
8. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 7. Virgin's Head* 122
9. *Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Galgano's Vision of the Archangel in Rome* 124

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pietro Lorenzetti

1. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1320* 131
2. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 132
3. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 132
4. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. Matthew. Pietro Lorenzetti* 132
5. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 134
6. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). St. Donatus. Pietro Lorenzetti* 134
7. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Annunciation. Pietro Lorenzetti* 134
8. *Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Assumption of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti* 136
9. *Siena. S. Ansano a Dofana. The Carmelite Madonna. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1329* 136
10. *Siena. Accademia, 83. Vision of Sobach. Pietro Lorenzetti* 136
11. *Siena. Accademia, 83. Honorius IV approves Carmelite Rule. Pietro Lorenzetti* 136
12. *Siena. Accademia, 84. Fountain of Helias. Pietro Lorenzetti* 138
13. *Siena. Accademia, 84. Honorius IV orders the White Habit. Pietro Lorenzetti* 138
14. *Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 138
15. *Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. The Dead Christ. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 138
16. *Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1340* 138
17. *Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 140
18. *Florence. Uffizi. Detail of Angels. Pietro Lorenzetti* 140
19. *Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1342* 140
20. *Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti* 142
21. *Cortona. Cathedral. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti* 142
22. *Montichiello. S. Leonardo e S. Cristoforo. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti. (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 142
23. *Florence. Horne Collection. St. Benedict, St. Catherine, St. Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti* 144
24. *Le Mans. Museum. St. Margaret (?). Pietro Lorenzetti* 144
25. *Assisi. Lower church. Madonna, St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 144
26. *Cortona. S. Marco. Crucifix. Pietro Lorenzetti* 146

27. *Philadelphia. Johnson Collection. Madonna and Child with donor. Angels added from Carl Hamilton Collection, New York City. Pietro Lorenzetti* 146
28. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti* 146
29. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thomas and James. Pietro Lorenzetti* 148
30. *Siena. Accademia. St. Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 148
31. *Siena. Accademia. St. Cecilia. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 148
32. *Siena. Accademia. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332* 148
33. *Siena. Accademia. Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 148
34. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. Peter. Pietro Lorenzetti* 150
35. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti* 150
36. *New York. Metropolitan Museum. St. Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 150
37. *Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Female saint. Pietro Lorenzetti* 152
38. *Florence. Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate. St. Lucy. Pietro Lorenzetti* 152
39. *Castiglion d'Orcia. S. Stefano. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 152
40. *Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Mr. F. Mason Perkins and the Frick Art Reference Library)* 154
41. *Florence. Serristori Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti (Courtesy of Mr. Richard Offner)* 154
42. *Siena. San Francesco. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
43. *Siena. San Francesco. Refectory. Christ Risen. Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
44. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entry into Jerusalem. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
45. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Last Supper. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
46. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Washing of the Apostles' Feet. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
47. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Betrayal. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 156
48. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Flagellation. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 158
49. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Road to Calvary. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 158
50. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti and Follower* 158
51. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail of Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti* 158
52. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Deposition. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160
53. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entombment. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160

54. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Descent to Hell. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160
55. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Resurrection. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160
56. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Nicholas and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160
57. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Afra and Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti* 160
58. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Stigmatisation of St. Francis. Pietro Lorenzetti* 162
59. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Baptist. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 162
60. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail from Madonna fresco (see fig. 25) before and after repainting* 162
61. *Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Comparative details from the Entry into Jerusalem (left) and the Madonna fresco in the north transept chapel (right)* 162
62. *New York. Collection of Mrs. Goodhart* 162
63. *Siena. Accademia. Luca di Tomè* 162
64. *Boston Museum. Niccolo di Buonaccorso* 162
65. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. S. Pietro, Ovile, Siena* 164
66. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. No. 76. Belle Arti, Siena* 164
67. *Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna. No. 80. Belle Arti, Siena* 164
68. *Ovile Master. Assumption of the Virgin. Belle Arti, Siena* 164
69. *Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61) by the Ovile Master (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 164
70. *Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61). Ovile Master (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 166
71. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail of Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 166
72. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 166
73. *Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master (Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)* 166
74. *Milan. Poldi Pezzoli. Madonna and Saints. Master of the Dijon triptych* 166
75. *Siena. Accademia. Paolo di Giovanni Fei* 166
76. *Perugia. Pinacoteca* 166
77. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 166
78. *Dijon. Museum. Detail. Madonna and Saints. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 166

79. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych, left wing, Gabriel, St. Christopher, and Christ Child. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 166
80. *Dijon. Museum. Triptych, right wing, The Virgin Annunciate, and The Crucifixion. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti* 166
81. *Settignano. Berenson Collection. Madonna and Child. Master of the Dijon triptych* 166
82. *Florence. Loeser Collection. Madonna and Child. Master of the Dijon triptych* 166
83. *London. National Gallery. Christian saints before a Roman tribunal. Master of the Dijon triptych* 166
84. *Rome. Vatican Gallery. Christ before Pilate. Master of the Dijon triptych* 166
85. *Münster in Westphalia. University Museum. Master of the Dijon triptych (Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)* 166
86. *Princeton. Collection of F. J. Mather, Jr. Bottega of the Dijon master (?) (Courtesy of Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr.)* 166
87. *Florence. Uffizi. Altarpiece of the Beata Umiltà* 166
88. *Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence* 166
89. *Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence* 166
90. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Allegory of the Cross* 166
91. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail showing Creation and Expulsion scenes, and murder of Abel (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 166
92. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 166
93. *Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail with abbreviated Last Judgment (Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)* 166
94. *Siena. Accademia. View of a city* 166
95. *Siena. Accademia. View of a country estate* 166
96. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Dance of Salome* 166
97. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Assumption of St. John the Evangelist* 166
98. *Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Slaughter of the Innocents* 166
99. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Mary Magdalen (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 166
100. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. Madonna and Child (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 166
101. *New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Catherine (Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)* 166

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

North Italian Ivories in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library

1. *Plaques of Peter and Andrew. Museo Cristiano, nos. 604 and 605* 169
2. *Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 395 (Dalton)* 169
3. *Detail of a triptych by Master Paolo dated 1333. Galleria, Vicenza (Testi)* 169
4. *Wood relief of St. Donatus. Cathedral, Murano (Planiscig)* 169

5 and 6. *Embriachi shrines representing the "Man of Sorrows." Museo Cristiano, nos. 612 and 613* 170

7. *Embriachi casket. Museum of Industrial Art, Rome (von Schlosser)* 170
8. *Embriachi fragments. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)* 170
9. *Embriachi triptych. National Museum, Florence (Alinari phot.)* 172
10. *Embriachi casket. Collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este, Vienna (von Schlosser)* 172
11. *Diptych. Innes Collection (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)* 174
12. *Triptych. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)* 174
13. *Stone relief. Abbazia della Misericordia, Venice (Planiscig)* 174
14. *Triptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 619* 174
15. *Detail. Altarpiece by Bartolommeo and Antonio Vivarini. Pinacoteca, Bologna (Testi)* 176
16. *Detail. Embriachi casket in the Cluny Museum (von Schlosser)* 176
17. *Comb. Bargello (von Schlosser)* 176
18. *Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 389 (Dalton)* 176
19. *Leaf of a diptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)* 176
20. *Leaf of a diptych. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)* 176
21. *Diptych. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)* 178
22. *Triptych. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (Kehrer)* 178
23. *Tomb. Cathedral, Casole (A. Venturi)* 178
24. *Leaf of a diptych. National Museum, Munich (Berliner)* 178
25. *Mirror case. Museo Cristiano, no. 626* 180
26. *Mirror case. British Museum, no. 415 (Dalton)* 180
27. *Mirror case. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)* 180
28. *Comb. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (von Schlosser)* 180
29. *Fragment of a comb. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)* 180
30. *Fragments of combs. British Museum, nos. 413 and 414 (Dalton)* 182
31. *Plaque. Museo Cristiano, no. 757* 182
32. *Ascension scene from an illuminated missal. Cathedral, Mantua (d'Ancona)* 182

33. *Diptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 608* 184
34. *Bolognese miniatures from the Cod. Edili 97. Laurentian Library, Florence (d'Ancona)* 184
35. *Fresco. SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome (van Marle)* 186
36. *Bolognese miniature. Vatican Library, lat. 2534* 186
37. *Polyptych. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)* 186
38. *Diptych. Formerly in the Antocolsky Collection, Paris (Antocolsky Catalogue)* 186
39. *Casket cover. Baboin Collection, Lyon (Koechlin)* 186
40. *Diptych. Sulzbach Collection, Paris (Archives Photographiques)* 188
41. *Leaves of a diptych. Cabinet des Estampes and Cluny Museum, Paris (Koechlin)* 188
42. *Four leaves of a tabernacle. Museo Cristiano, no. 719* 190
43. *Tabernacle. Musée des Hospices Civils, Bruges (Archives Photographiques)* 190
44. *Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan (Archives Photographiques)* 192
45. *Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan (Archives Photographiques)* 192
46. *Tabernacle. Cathedral, Monza (Barbier de Montault, Revue de l'art chrétien, 1902, p. 225)* 194
47. *Tabernacle. Grand Duke of Baden Collection, Karlsruhe (Rosenberg, Exposition de Carlsruhe, 1881)* 194
48. *Comb. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)* 194
49. *Coffer. Museo Civico, Turin (Archives Photographiques)* 196
50. *Drawing from a fifteenth century Lombard sketchbook. Accademia, Venice (van Marle)* 196
51. *Pax. Museo Cristiano, no. 630* 196
52. *Pax. British Museum, no. 324 (Dalton)* 196
53. *Pax. Museo Civico, Turin (Koechlin)* 198
54. *Plaque representing St. Catherine. Museo Cristiano, no. 684* 198
55. *Plaque of the Pilgrims to Emmaus. Museo Cristiano, no. 638* 198
56. *Openwork diptych. Metropolitan Museum (Longhurst)* 198
57. *Ostensorio from Voghera. Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (Malaguzzi Valeri)* 200
58a. *Openwork plaques. Museo Cristiano, no. 636* 200
58b. *Openwork plaques. Museo Cristiano, no. 618* 200
59. *Detail from Ms. E. I. 8, National Library, Turin (d'Ancona)* 200
60. *Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 314 (Dalton)* 202
61. *Detail from an illuminated missal. Trivulzio Library, Milan, Ms. 2165 (d'Ancona)* 202

62. *Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 313 (Dalton)* 202
63. *Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 315 (Dalton)* 202
64. *Cover from an openwork casket. Gibbs Collection, Tyntesfield, England (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)* 204
65. *Austrian painting, about 1400 (Kieslinger)* 204
66. *Mirror case. Czartoryski Museum, Cracow (Koechlin)* 204
67. *Mirror case. British Museum, no. 384 (Dalton)* 204
68. *Mirror case. Museo Civico, Bologna (Koechlin)* 204
69. *Unfinished relief representing the Madonna and Four Saints. Museo Cristiano, no. 602* 206
70. *Detail showing St. Petronius from the altar of San Francesco, Bologna (Planiscig)* 206

THE PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS IN GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

Luke Mark

2. Folio 10

John Matthew

1. Folio 9v

Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence (Venturi)

THE PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS IN GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

By A. M. FRIEND, Jr.

PART II

Primitive Types in the Manuscripts of the Versions

In the previous article of this study [1] the two primitive sets of types of the portraits of the Evangelists which can be inferred from the existing Greek manuscripts were described and shown to have originated separately in Alexandria and Ephesus. These are not the only sets of primitive types which arose in Greek communities and which may still be preserved in Greek manuscripts. As I have said, there must have been, at the start, several such local types, the number of which we can never know. All of them have not survived. But those of the centers where manuscripts were habitually copied and decorated had the best chance for perpetuation. Thus the types most likely to be preserved were those current in the great cities of the Greco-Roman world — the centers of book manufacture.

With the aid of bits of early evidence we deduced two of the primitive sets of types from the mass of later copies in Greek manuscripts. To discover others it will be necessary to study not only the Greek but also the manuscripts of the Versions into which the Greek gospels were translated — the Syriac, the Armenian, the Georgian, the Coptic and the Latin. When the text was translated it is reasonable to suppose that whatever portraits were in the original Greek manuscript were "translated" also. It is more difficult to hold that the scribes and copyists made up new ones. Theirs was not the state of mind to originate anything — except errors. Therefore, for the study of the iconography of the Evangelists the early manuscripts of the Versions have a value equal to any save the early Greek ones. They supply evidence which is more ancient by far than that afforded by the mass of Greek cursive codices and that evidence will lead us, as we shall see, to the discovery of other of the primitive types.

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), pp. 115–147. In this second section of my work I wish to thank Professor Adolph Goldschmidt of the University of Berlin for suggestions concerning the survivals of ancient painting in mediaeval art. I am particularly grateful to Professor Mary H. Swindler of Bryn Mawr College for her great kindness in allowing me to read in proof the chapters on ancient decorative painting of her forthcoming book, *Ancient Painting* (Yale University Press). That we are in substantial agreement on the essential points gives me a feeling of confidence very gratifying to a mediaevalist strayed into the field of classical archaeology. I wish also to thank George H. Forsyth, Jr., for valuable suggestions in connection with the scenery of the ancient theatre.

Seated Types (Antioch)

The most important early illustrated manuscript of the Gospels not written in Greek is the famous Syriac codex in the Laurentian Library, Florence (Plut. I, Cod. 56), commonly called the Rabula Gospels.[1] This manuscript, as the colophon tells us,[2] was written by the monk Rabula at the monastery of Zagba in northern Mesopotamia in A.D. 586. The particular form of the text is the Peshitto, a revision of the old Syriac translation, made by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, about A.D. 425 on the basis, evidently, of the so-called Byzantine Greek text.[3] This Byzantine Greek text (the ancestor of our Authorized Version) is supposed, on the findings of Hort, to have originated in Antioch in the early part of the fourth century.[4] The pictures in the Rabula Gospels are magnificent in color, softly painted, but crude in drawing and in modelling. They are of two sorts — full page compositions and the decorated Canon Tables. All these are gathered in the "front" of the manuscript (a Syriac book reads backwards from our point of view, hence the pages turn from left to right). They are thus in their proper position before the text.

The Canon Tables and their decoration chiefly concern us. Folios 3 *verso* to 12 *verso*, that is to say nineteen pages, are decorated, each one, with a great arch supported on flat strip columns and enclosing an arcade. Framed by the columns are the tables of the concordances between the four Gospels, invented by Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century and described by him in his letter to Carpianus, which, translated into Syriac, is included in this manuscript immediately before the Canon Tables themselves. There are ten tables of concordance: one wherein the parallel passages of all four Gospels are indicated by the numbers of the sections, three in which the Gospels are compared by threes in this manner, five in which they are paired, and finally a table in four parts which lists the passages unique in each of the Gospels.

On folios 9 *verso* and 10 occur the four portraits of the Evangelists (Plate I). The two seated ones on folio 9 *verso* are Matthew and John (Fig. 1). The standing ones on folio 10 are Mark and Luke (Fig. 2). The set of types in Rabula is thus not consistent in pose. The portraits of Matthew and John

[1] S. E. Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum MSS. orientalium Catalogus* (Florence, 1742), pp. 1 ff., pls. I–XXVI.

[2] Ceriani's opinion of this colophon is quoted in G. H. Gwilliam, *The Ammonian Sections, Eusebian Canons and Harmonizing Tables in the Syriac Tetraevangelium, Studia Biblica*, vol. II, p. 251. For the opinion that this date cannot apply to the paintings in the manuscript see E. Blochet, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1914–1920), p. 52, note 3.

[3] B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York, 1925), p. 75. A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1927), p. 359.

[4] Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction and Appendix* (New York, 1882), pp. 132–146. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–116.

4. Folio 10v

Elisha

Malachi

3. Folio 9

Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence (Venturi)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

accompany Canon Table VII, which gives the concordance between their Gospels. Likewise Mark and Luke flank Table VIII, which compares the writings of these men. Each Evangelist is next to the column which lists the passages in his Gospel. This appropriate placing of the Evangelist portraits in the Canons determined the arrangement of the rest of the iconographic decoration of the Tables. Thus these portraits were the first in the mind of the artist who painted the Canon Tables.

They are not the only portraits, however, used in the Canons, but are merely the last part of a long series of pictures of biblical figures. This can be proved quite easily. From folio 3 *verso* to folio 9 the spandrels of the large arches of the Canon Tables contain portraits (usually standing figures) of Old Testament worthies, beginning with Moses and Aaron and continuing up to and including Elisha and Malachi (Fig. 3). The next two pages show the Evangelists but no figures in the spandrels of the arches (Figs. 1 and 2). The remainder of the Canon Tables (folios 10 *verso* to 12 *verso*) likewise have no figures in the spandrels (Fig. 4). Therefore the whole series of portraits includes and ends with those of the Four Evangelists.[1]

The list of portraits in the spandrels of the arches of the Canon Tables in Rabula is, in their actual order, as follows: Aaron, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Joel, Obadiah, Amos, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Job, Isaiah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Malachi, Elisha, Matthew, John, Mark, and Luke. This series recalls at once the old cycle, originating in Alexandria, of the portraits of the authors and chief persons of the Books of the Old Testament, to which later were added the authors of the New Testament Books as well. This I have described before.[2] Small resemblances establish the identity of the cycle in Rabula with that of Alexandria. For instance, Zechariah (Fig. 6) has above him his flying sickle [3] as in the Vatican manuscript of the Alexandrian Cosmas Indicopleustes,[4] Vatican cod. gr. 1153 [5] and Paris, MS. Syriaque 341.[6] Joshua (Fig. 5) in armour commands the sun and moon to stand still as in Paris, MS. Syriaque 341.[7] Jonah [8] is represented in a scene from his life rather than as a standing figure. In this the Rabula Gospel is in accord with the representation of Jonah in the Alexandrian World Chronicle.[9] Daniel [10] wears the chlamys, the eastern hat, and pantaloons as in the Bawît frescoes [11] and

[1] R. Garrucci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana* (Prato, 1876), vol. III, tav. 129–138.

[2] *Art Studies* (1927), p. 130.

[3] Henry Barclay Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge, 1912), vol. III, p. 79. ZAXAPIAΣ, chap. V, 1: "δρέπανον."

[4] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*, Fig. 80.

[6] *Ibid.*, Fig. 54.

[7] *Ibid.*, Fig. 45.

[8] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. III, tav. 132.1.

[9] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 68.

[10] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. III, tav. 134.2.

[11] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 63.

in Paris, MS. Syriaque 341.[1] This cycle of standing portraits originated as we have seen in the papyrus rolls and codices of ancient Alexandria and now has found its way into the Syriac Rabula Gospels.

The Evangelist portraits in Rabula are, however, of two sorts, seated as well as standing. The two standing ones, Mark and Luke, are Alexandrian in type and are part of the cycle of standing portraits, as we have seen. The seated ones break the sequence of this series and seem, therefore, to have been interpolated. They are borrowed or they survive from another tradition. The artist took his types from different sources and did not try to harmonize them. For instance, although Mark and Luke have their heads surrounded by the nimbus in common with other standing figures of the prophets in the cycle, Matthew and John, the seated portraits, lack this mark of honor. This lack is all the more remarkable since Matthew and John are apostles while Mark and Luke are merely the followers of apostles.

The standing Evangelists in Rabula are, I am sure, rightly explained as a borrowing of the old Alexandrian types, and so far as we are concerned at present, they may be dismissed from discussion along with the series of which they are so obviously the termination. But the seated portraits must be scrutinized more carefully. The lack of the nimbus at once stamps them as copied from earlier prototypes.[2] Kondakoff [3] was alive to this when he characterized them "les plus anciens types byzantins d'évangélistes." But these Evangelists are not at all the seated ones we have already encountered and which we found to be native in Asia Minor and Ephesus. In Rabula the Evangelists do not sit deep in meditation, nor do they write. Rather they read aloud and teach with gestures. They are very alert. The youthful figure has the inscription "Juchanan," i.e., John. In the Asia Minor types John is always represented as an old man. The chair in which John sits, a folding stool with a back, is a piece of furniture the like of which has not previously been seen with the seated types.

Because of their antique character and their differences from the other seated types, it seems that in these seated Evangelists of Rabula we have discovered two portraits of another primitive set of types. What is the ultimate provenance of these seated types? Egypt and Asia Minor are out of the question because of our former researches. We cannot hold that the Syriac artist invented them, since obviously in that case he would have made them stand to bring them into harmony with his Alexandrian cycle. Some tradition was, therefore, strong enough to interpolate them into the midst of the standing series. This must have been that which came from the Greek

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 46.

[2] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 682.

[3] N. P. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1886), vol. I, p. 131.

5. Folio 4

6. Folio 8

Rabula Gospels, Laurentian Library, Florence (Venturi)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

center from which Syria drew its Gospel texts. The seated Evangelists in Rabula are the primitive Greek types of Antioch.

Our original classification of the types of Evangelist portraits was made on the basis of a combination of the pose with the background. The poses of the seated figures in Rabula are very different from the Asia Minor types, as I have said. First of all they are seen more in front view. John is reading from his scroll rather than writing in it. Matthew holds a codex in his lap and raises his right hand in blessing as if at the beginning or end of an allocution from his text. This type of a seated man teaching from an open codex occurs in late classical art. In the British Museum is a little bronze statuette (Fig. 8) of a man seated on a folding stool (much like John's but without the back). He holds an open book in his left hand. His right arm, now broken off at the elbow, was clearly raised in a gesture of teaching. His whole aspect is alert and he seems as if he is about to rise suddenly from his seat. Walters, in the Catalogue of Bronzes,[1] dates this little figure in the sixth century of our era. He calls the statuette dubiously a "philosopher (?), probably a portrait." To me it has not the aspect of philosophers. They are more usually represented in deep thought, as we have seen. Rather the figure represents a Sophist, one of those teachers and orators who were the glory of the University of Athens in the second century and of the schools of Antioch in the fourth.[2] It was frequent for the Sophist to start his declamation seated and then, as he warmed to his theme, to start up suddenly from his chair.[3] A comparison between the figure of Matthew in Rabula and the little statuette mentioned above (Figs. 7 and 8) is very enlightening. I do not mean to suggest that the Evangelist in Rabula was copied from the prototype of this sixth-century bronze statuette. But I feel that the original of the pose of Matthew was one of those statues of Sophists of which many were set up in Greek cities during the first centuries of our era.[4]

The backgrounds of the seated types in Rabula are even more suggestive of a Greco-Roman origin than the poses. The Evangelists are seated under little tempiettos held up by slender, almost metallic, columns. These little tempiettos are very different from the rest of the architecture of the Canon Tables. The arches and columns of the Tables are perfectly flat. This is as the Syriac artist likes them. But in one, at least, of the tempiettos, in spite of the two-dimensional tendencies of the Syriac painter, we still feel rotundity. Over John is a conch which, flattened out as it is, looks now like an Adam fan light. Over Matthew, however, (Fig. 7) the tempietto still retains

[1] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1899), p. 153, No. 849 and Pl. XXVI.

[2] John W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece* (London, 1912), pp. 83–96, 107–108.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 231 and note 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 164 and note 2.

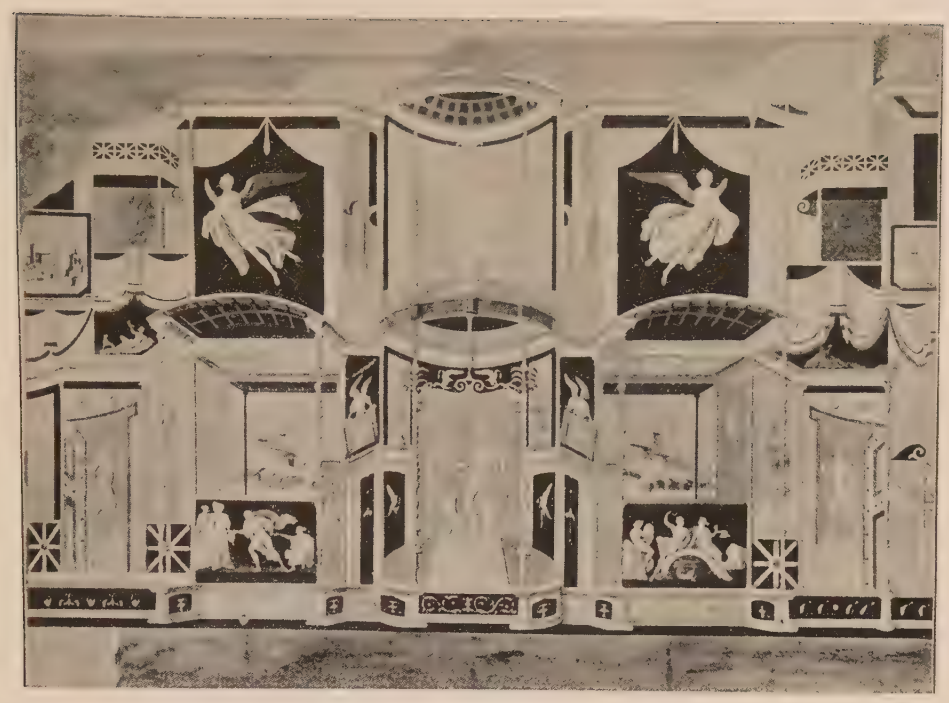
its three-dimensional aspect in the circular epistyle seen in perspective. On the outside of the roof is a decoration, at first difficult to make out or to comprehend. On closer view we find out that it is a representation of the sunk coffering of the ceiling of a classical building. Each of the three large coffers is double sunk into four smaller ones. The Syriac artist in his misunderstanding has placed the coffering on the outside instead of on the underside of the roof of the tempietto. Thus it has become meaningless.

It is perfectly clear that the Syriac artist is dealing with an architecture he does not comprehend. Thus we may be sure that it was borrowed, copied from something else. Also it is clear that, allowing for the Syriac painter's errors, even the original of this tempietto does not seem very real or buildable. It is much too slim, the columns are like reeds, and are too few. The epistyle could never hold such a vault. The architecture here has a fantastic, metallic look. It is futile, therefore, to search for the origin of this in real monuments of architecture, but when we compare the architectural painting of the ancients, we cannot fail to be struck by the similarities presented between the tempiettos of the Rabula Evangelists and the characteristic features of the so-called Fourth Pompeian Style of wall decoration. The example of the Fourth Style which best exhibits these similarities is the painted and stucco decoration on the wall of the court of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii (Fig. 9).[1] In the center of this composition of fantastic architecture is a tempietto in two storeys supported on the sides by slender metallic columns. The circular epistyles again have a decidedly metallic look. The roofing is a low circular vault which exhibits on its under face the coffering of a classical ceiling or dome.[2] The thin columns, the coffered vault, the metallic epistyle and, above all, the sense of depth created by means of this delicate and fantastic architecture are all characteristic of the Fourth Pompeian Style, as also of the tempietto over Matthew in Rabula. There is no doubt then that the painter of the Rabula Gospels had before him a picture of an Evangelist whose background was composed with excerpts from an architectural painting similar to the wall of the Stabian Baths. The flattened conch over the figure of John in the Rabula Gospels is an echo of a dome or half dome decorated with a conch. This motif can be seen as the under decoration for a light dome over the central doorway in the painting in the Fourth Style on the wall of a house in Pompeii (Reg. I, ins. 3, No. 25).[3] The presence of this style of architectural painting in a Syriac manuscript, which in these features must have been copied from Greek prototypes coming, by all the laws of probability, from Antioch, makes it extremely likely that the so-called Fourth

[1] August Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1908), Taf. XIV.

[2] For instance, Pantheon, Rome.

[3] Margarete Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1920), Abb. 82, p. 78.



9. Pompeii, Court of the Stabian Baths (Mau)
Stage front in Fourth Style

7. Rabula Gospels
Matthew

8. British Museum (Cat. No. 849)
Statuette of a Sophist

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

Pompeian Style was at home in that great city during the first century of our era. It is interesting to recall that August Mau, without this evidence from Rabula, had suggested Antioch as the home of the Fourth Pompeian Style.[1]

Both the examples of this style, which I have cited because they explain most completely the non-Syriac elements in the architecture of the Rabula Gospels, have been shown to have been inspired by the scenery (painted or built) of the stage of the Roman period. G. von Cube in a convincing article [2] has not only proved the connection with the classical theatre but has attempted to reconstruct the actual *scenae* which are the inspiration of these Pompeian paintings.[3]

So the architectural backgrounds of the seated Evangelists in Rabula are ultimately derived from the *scena* of the classical theatre, and their poses from the types of the statues of Sophists set up in the Greco-Roman cities. The sources of the Evangelist portraits in Rabula are thoroughly pagan and antique. We have confirmed, then, Kondakoff's impression that these portraits are the most ancient Byzantine types of the Evangelists. They are ancient enough, for they are the primitive types of Antioch.

As for the Rabula Gospels, the portraits of the four Evangelists show clearly a mixed tradition. The standing ones are the types from Alexandria. The seated ones come from Antioch. But there is no attempt at harmonization on the part of the artist. He uses both types in a simple mixture.[4] This conflation of picture types has a startling resemblance to the conflation of text types which characterizes the Antiochene recension of Lucian (the Byzantine text, *Textus Receptus*) in the early years of the fourth century.[5]

Theatre Scenery and the Portraits of the Evangelists

In the case of the Ephesian seated portraits of the Evangelists we have already found that the architectural backgrounds showed a connection with the *scena* of a classical theatre. Now again, behind those portraits which may be properly held to have originated in Antioch, we see architectural settings which must be referred to the same source. But the style of the architecture is quite different in the two instances. The architecture behind the Ephesian types was substantial, real and buildable, while that behind the portraits in Rabula is quite light and fantastic, as we have noted. Some

[1] Mau, *op. cit.*, p. 489. Cf. also Albert Ippel, *Der dritte pompejanische Stil* (Berlin, 1910), p. 36. Van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 210.

[2] G. von Cube, *Die römische "Scenae Frons" in den pompejanischen Wandbildern 4 Stils, Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft*, Heft 6 (Berlin, 1906).

[3] Von Cube, *op. cit.*, Taf. III, V, VII, IX.

[4] The same mixture occurs in the portraits of the Evangelists in the Arabic Gospels (Add. 11856) in the British Museum where Matthew and John stand while Mark and Luke sit.

[5] B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–121.

study of ancient stage decoration is imperative at this place, if the significance of the settings of the Evangelist portraits is to be appreciated.

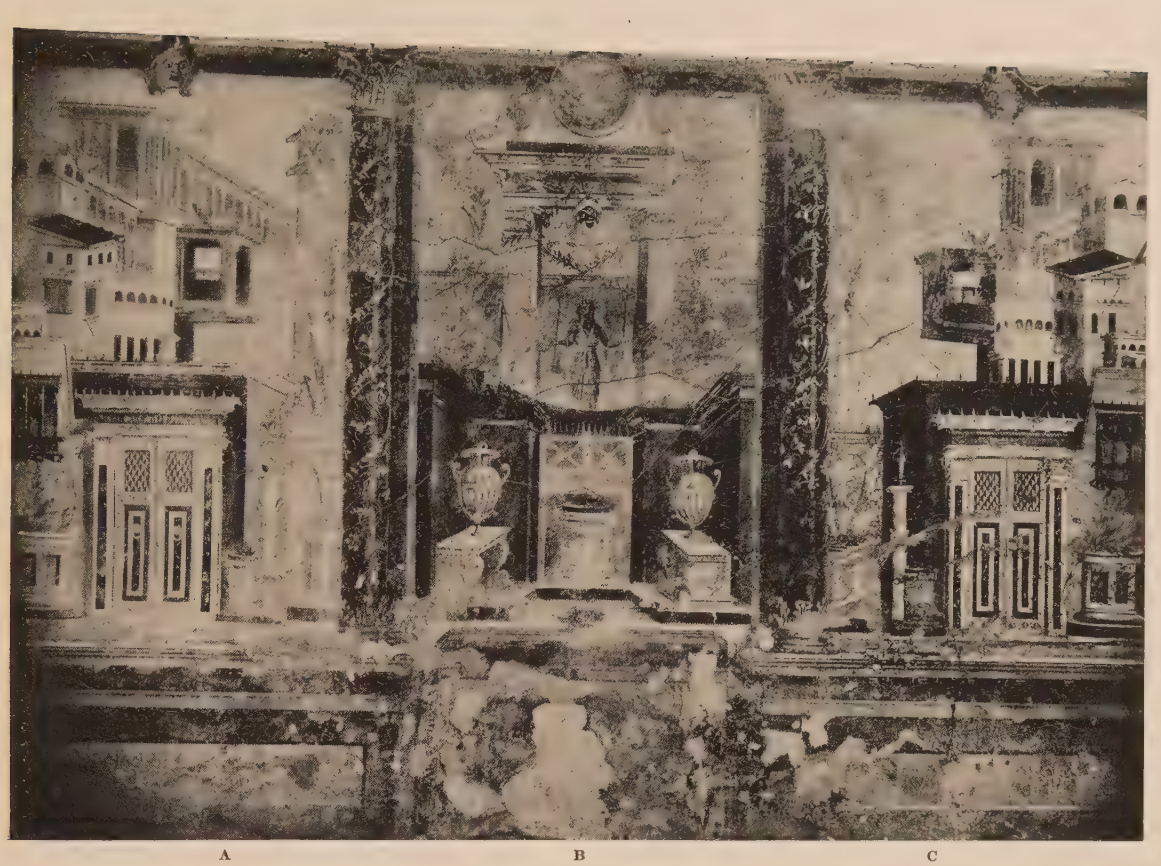
The study of the scenery of the ancient theatre is a difficult and thorny occupation. It is an archaeological problem of a very respectable antiquity. The question was first raised in Renaissance times with the early printings of the Ten Books on Architecture of Vitruvius, the Roman architect of the period of Augustus (first century B.C.). The portions of the chapters of this work which deal with the theatre scenery of the ancients have been the subject of comment and explanation from the first annotated edition[1] by Caesare Caesariano, the Milanese architect, published in 1521, down to the present day. The commentary at first was chiefly architectural, literary, and, of course, conjectural. But nevertheless it has a value for interpretation to this day. When, however, the statements of Vitruvius about the theatre were brought against the results of the scientific excavation of modern times, confusion was bred in the minds of most investigators. It is a confusion which has been increased by much needless controversy, in which both the credibility and the intelligence of Vitruvius have been assailed. However, he is not quite so much an amiable idiot as some have made out, and moreover his is the only work on these subjects by an ancient writer which has survived to our hands. His testimony is frequently clear and formal and not to be denied, at least until we have a great deal more monumental evidence than at present we possess. This is particularly true of the subject under discussion, theatre scenery, since about that, excavations have yielded precious little. It is because the new evidence presented by Greek and Syriac manuscript miniatures seems to cast a bit of light upon it that I treat it here.

But it will be impossible for me to trace the origins and developments of the arguments of the various modern scholars who have written about the classical theatre and have discussed the scenery from the point of view or prejudice of their larger theories. To balance opinions would be an interesting, if perhaps futile, commentary on the scholarly mind. For the present I may be excused if I limit myself to an outline presentation of the essential evidence which explains the diverse origins of the backgrounds of the Evangelist portraits. Later, as I have already indicated, I hope to discuss in a more formal and permanent fashion the connection of theatre scenery with these architectural settings of the seated portraits.

In the previous article I pointed out the similarity between the background of the portrait of Mark in Mt. Athos Manuscript Philotheu 33, and the marble relief in the Terme Museum representing a stage front.[2] The same background was seen also behind Dioscorides in the manuscript in

[1] Printed at Como by Gotardo da Ponte.

[2] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 167; Margarete Bieber, *op. cit.*, Taf. 40.



A B C

10. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Wall decoration from Villa at Boscoreale (Phot. Metropolitan Museum) inspired by painted scenery of the Hellenistic Proscenium

11. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43 (Millet) Mark

12. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43 (Millet) Luke

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Vienna (Med. Gr. 1, fol. 5 v.).[1] In these manuscripts the inspiration of the *scena* of the classical theatre is clear. But the connection with the theatre is not so obvious in the case of the backgrounds of portraits in manuscript Stauronikita 43 on Mt. Athos.[2] This tenth-century codex has proved to be the best surviving copy of the old Ephesian Evangelist portraits. In it the poses were closest to those of Greek Philosopher statues. Hence the architectural settings which are the glory of these miniatures may well have been copied from the antique also. I propose to study these backgrounds more carefully with the purpose of deciding whether or not they are inspired by the scenery of the Greek stage.

Let us begin with the architectural setting of Mark (Fig. 11). Immediately behind the Evangelist is a large semicircular *exedra* topped by a coping of several mouldings. This is painted in strong dark color. Above this *exedra* and behind it are two semicircular rotundas connected by an open loggia which is supported by six columns with composite capitals. The rotundas and loggia are painted in lighter color. The intention of the artist in the use of this contrast of dark and light color is to throw the upper architecture into the background thus establishing it as behind the *exedra*. Above the loggia and beyond it trees thrust their branches. The background of all is the blue sky. The space in this miniature does not suggest vistas but is *limited or confined by the architecture*. This statement is true for all the four architectural settings in Stauronikita 43. If we turn to the background behind Luke in the same manuscript (Fig. 12), we see an *exedra* with recessions at right angles and pierced at the center of the back by a doorway. The wall is crowned by mouldings which are brilliantly lighted. In front of the doorway is a portico of four composite columns supporting an architrave capped by a conch. Above the top of the wall are seen trees against the sky. Both the settings of Mark and Luke are laid out in perspective according to the same principle, to the same rules. They are both painted in a fairly accurate *symmetrical parallel perspective* (usually called "one point perspective "). That is to say that the architecture always presents one face parallel to the picture plane and that the single vanishing point is in the center of the picture. The faces of the architecture which recede, do so on radii which have this vanishing point as a center. The only difference between the two backgrounds is that the one behind Mark shows two storeys of architecture, as it were, while that behind Luke shows but one. This distinction will be seen to be significant later.

Let us search for parallels in ancient classical painting. The perspective and the elements of the background of Mark are exactly like the central panel of the wall paintings in the cubiculum of the Villa of P. Fannius Sinistor

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 168.
[2] *Art Studies* (1927), Figs. 95, 96, 97, 98.

from Boscoreale now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 10 B). These paintings date in the first century B.C.[1] In this panel we see a squared *exedra* topped by mouldings brilliantly lighted, painted in a strong dark color (red). Above the *exedra* and behind it is a structure composed of two piers with capitals supporting an entablature. Still further back the space is limited by a wall running parallel across the back of the scene. All this architecture of the second storey is painted in a light color (pink), so that it seems to be behind the red *exedra*. On either side of the pink architecture but in front of the wall are the branches of trees which in the upper part are displayed against the blue sky. This whole architectural picture is laid out according to the rules of symmetrical parallel (one point) perspective. After this description there can be no doubt, I think, that the architectural painting behind Mark in the Stauronikita Manuscript and that of the Boscoreale wall follow the same tradition. The background of Luke is similar also to the Boscoreale panel save only that its architecture is in one storey instead of two. Notice especially the brilliant illumination of the mouldings coping the *exedrae*.

The architectural painting in the cubiculum from Boscoreale is actually in three panels divided by red columns (Fig. 10 A, B, and C). But it constitutes one picture. The two side panels (A and C) are reversed counterparts of each other. These panels are also painted in symmetrical parallel perspective, but the vanishing points of their architecture are in the center of the central panel described above. It is this fact that allows us to speak of the three panels as one picture. The buildings represented in the two side panels seem piled upon one another without enough sense of depth. That is because the perspective contrast of dark and light colors used in the central panel is not consistently used in the two wings.

In this triple arrangement we discover another similarity between the paintings of Boscoreale and those of the Stauronikita Manuscript. This can be seen by comparing Fig. 10 and Figs. 14, 15, and 16. On Plate VII, I have taken as the central part the picture of Luke from the Athos codex. On the right I have placed the portrait of Matthew (Fig. 16). The background of this portrait shows a temple supported by four columns with composite capitals. The long side of this temple is parallel to the picture plane. The doorway shows that the gable end should have receded into the picture, but the Byzantine copyist has flattened it out into the same plane with the first side. He also forgot the roof. Left from the temple runs a wall which finishes in a square tower, thus cutting out any vista and continuously limiting the space. Over the wall, temple, and tower trees are seen against the sky. If

[1] F. Barnabei, *La villa Pompeiana di P. Fannio Sinistore scoperta presso Boscoreale* (Rome, 1901), pp. 49–50, 71–81, Pl. X. A. Sambon, *Les Fresques de Boscoreale* (Paris, 1903), pp. 2–3, Pl. X. Gisela M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927), p. 220. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

13. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Wall decoration from Villa at Boscoreale
(Phot. Metropolitan Museum)

this architecture had been correctly copied it is clear that the vanishing points would have been to the left outside the picture. Therefore we must suppose a central panel or, vice versa, we know that the background of Matthew is one of the side panels of a tripartite picture. Is there any evidence for the reversed companion pendant which should go on the left side in Plate VII? Not in the Stauronikita Manuscript.

However, in the British Museum in a Greek Gospel book (Additional MS. 22506) which is dated A.D. 1305, is a miniature of Mark (folio 87 *v*) (Fig. 14), which shows exactly the same setting as that behind Matthew in Stauronikita. There is the tower, the wall, and the temple with four columns, here completely flattened out. But although the layout is the same it is exactly reversed. Here is an evidence for a pendant panel to the Stauronikita Matthew. The late date of the British Museum manuscript need not worry us. It is only a late copy of the same types of which the Athos manuscript is an earlier witness. The proof for this is apparent if we compare the portrait of Mark in the Athos codex (Fig. 18) with the portrait of Matthew in Additional MS. 22506 (Fig. 19). We note the same pose, same desk with cross, same *exedra*, rotundas, and loggia. Therefore there must have existed in Greek manuscripts a prototype also for the reverse counterpart to the background of Matthew in Stauronikita. This would have the vanishing points of the architecture toward the right instead of to the left. Consequently I have felt free to use the miniature of Mark from the London codex as the third and left element of a tripartite set of architectural backgrounds which by means of the symmetrical parallel perspective was originally thought of as one composition. If now we compare Plate VII (A, B, and C) with Fig. 10 (A, B, and C), there will be all the less reason to doubt the identity of tradition behind the Stauronikita miniatures and the Boscoreale paintings.

When we take into consideration other examples of the Ephesian types, as, for instance, the Rossano Gospels and Vatican Cod. Gr. 364, other small resemblances in the treatment of the painted architecture serve to confirm this identity. The chief of these is the manner of handling curtains. In both the Rossano and the Vatican codices I have pointed out the peculiar way in which the curtains are draped down to the top of the wall from some higher feature.[1] In Rossano [2] the color brings this out clearly. The curtains are pink in front of the blue sky. They are draped from a grey podium down to a wall of the same color. The point is that they *disappear behind the wall.* In the case of the miniature of John in the Vatican manuscript, the curtains are etched in the gold.[3] They descend from a central square tower and like

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), p. 139.
[2] Muñoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano* (Rome, 1907), Pl. XV.
[3] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 106.

Rossano disappear behind the wall.[1] This identical arrangement of curtains occurs in one of the architectural paintings in the cubiculum from Boscoreale (Fig. 13). Here above the screen walls, to the right and to the left, a dark green curtain descends from the columns and disappears behind the wall in exactly the manner we have noted above. Curtains are used, however, in other Pompeian paintings, notably in those of the Fourth Style, as, for example, the painting on the walls of the Stabian Baths (Fig. 9). But in this example they hang *down in front of the walls* in a free fashion, caught up at intervals and bunched at the places of attachment. This free style of drapery must be compared with the curtain on the architectural background of a Roman relief in Naples[2] which represents the performance of a comedy in front of the theatre *scena* (another point for the association of the Fourth Style with the stage). The distinction between the arrangements of the curtains in ancient architectural paintings is clear-cut, and it is significant that the backgrounds of the Ephesian Evangelist types associate themselves with the decorations from Boscoreale.

What, then, is the inspiration of the architectural paintings in the cubiculum from Boscoreale? The same source stands behind the backgrounds of our Ephesian Evangelists. The opinion that is frequently held[3] is that we must look for it in the scenery of the Greek theatre. Since this opinion is vital to our investigations, it will be well to show independently that this is the truth.

The most striking peculiarity about the paintings in the Boscoreale cubiculum is that *not one animate object* is represented in the whole series. There are no people, — only statues, — no animals, nothing that suggests the power to move. This is the more remarkable since the scenes are filled with houses, *exedrae*, balconies, and so forth, which normally call for inhabitants. This exclusion in Greco-Roman painting which is habitually interested in the human figure calls for comment. To my mind there is only one explanation. The originals of these Boscoreale paintings were meant to serve as the backgrounds for real figures who would move in front of them. Since the contrast between a real human and a painted one would render both ridiculous, the animate figures were rigorously excluded from the paintings. We are invited, then, to think of these architectural backgrounds as partaking of actual space and as forming a setting for real animate figures. This is the peculiar problem of stage scenery, since the chorus and actors need just this kind of set. On the other hand the exclusion of animate objects is not a

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 107.

[2] Bieber, *op. cit.*, Taf. 89.

[3] Ernst R. Fiechter, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters* (München, 1914), pp. 42–44. Albert Ippel, *Der dritte pompejanische Stil* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 27–28. August Frickenhaus, *Die altgriechische Bühne* (Strassburg, 1917), p. 48. M. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Wall-Painting, Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXXIX (1919), p. 150.

A

14. London, British Museum
Add. Ms. 22506. Mark

B

15. Mt. Athos,
Stauronikita Ms. 43. Luke

C

16. Mt. Athos,
Stauronikita Ms. 43. Matthew

Set of three scenes inspired by the painted scenery of the Greek theatre

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

necessity for domestic room decoration.[1] Consequently the Boscoreale paintings are copied from theatre scenery. How, then, is it that we find theatre scenery as the decoration for a house? Vitruvius[2] tells us that the "ancients" in their open rooms "*scaenarum frontes tragico more, aut comico seu satyrico designarent.*" So in his time, the first century B.C., it was already the custom to use such scenery as the painted decoration of a private dwelling. Vitruvius distinguishes carefully between the use of the theatre tradition for decoration and that of other decorative formulae employed in house wall painting.[3] The details of the painted scenes in the tragic, comic, and satyric manner are likewise given by Vitruvius in his chapter on the theatre.[4] "There are three kinds of scenes, one called the tragic, second, the comic, third, the satyric. Their decorations are different and unlike each other in scheme. Tragic scenes are delineated with columns, pediments, statues, and other objects suited to kings; comic scenes exhibit private dwellings, with balconies and views representing rows of windows, after the manner of ordinary dwellings; satyric scenes are decorated with trees, caverns, mountains, and other rustic objects delineated in landscape style." [5] If we look now at the tripartite painting from Boscoreale (Fig. 10) we find out that what is represented is the comic theatre scene, with its private houses, balconies, and so forth.

A second point which shows the connection of the Metropolitan Museum paintings and the theatre is the use of dramatic masks as decoration. In Fig. 10 two masks are seen on the architrave above the side panels and one is suspended from the pink architectural feature in the central scene. These hardly existed in the original theatre set. They were probably added by the interior decorator. They show where he got his inspiration, however, for they are comic masks,[6] and we have just seen that the architecture belongs to a comic scene.

A third point and perhaps the most important for holding the theatre tradition responsible for both Boscoreale and the backgrounds of our Evangelists is the exclusive use of symmetrical parallel perspective in all these paintings. This is the perspective used in Greek theatre scenery from the beginning. Furthermore it was used consciously and scientifically. About this

[1] Witness the many figure compositions in Pompeian paintings of the Third Style. Gerhart Rodenwaldt, *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* (Berlin, 1909).

[2] *De Architectura* (ed. Valentine Rose), VII, 5.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *De Architectura*, V, 6: "Genera autem sunt scaenarum tria, unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum. Horum autem ornatus sunt inter se dissimili disparique ratione, quod tragicae deformantur columnis et fastigiis et signis reliquisque regalibus rebus, comicae autem aedificiorum privatorum et maenianorum habent speciem prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione, communium aedificiorum rationibus, satyricae vero ornantur arboribus speluncis montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topiodis speciem deformatis."

[5] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, translated by Morris Hicky Morgan (Cambridge, 1914), p. 150.

[6] A. Ippel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Vitruvius leaves no doubt.[1] He writes, "In the first place Agatharcus in Athens, when Aeschylus was bringing out a tragedy, painted a scene, and left a commentary about it. This led Democritus and Anaxagoras to write on the same subject, showing how, *given a center in a definite place*, the lines should naturally correspond with due regard to the point of sight, and the *divergence* of the visual rays, so that by this deception, a faithful representation of the appearance of buildings might be given in painted scenery, and so that, though all is drawn on a vertical flat façade, some parts may seem to be withdrawing into the background, and others to be standing out in front." [2] This is a very clear description of symmetrical parallel perspective. Vitruvius did not know this by chance. At this place in his treatise he is citing his authorities. In this case he cites Democritus and Anaxagoras, both of whom had written treatises about perspective. On this point there can be little reasonable doubt.[3]

From this passage we know that stage scenery in Athens in the fifth century was painted with scientific knowledge in parallel perspective. In reference to this work of Agatharchus I should like to quote from a modern textbook on perspective: [4] "We are quite sure that these scenes were in parallel perspective and it is quite easy to see why even if anything about oblique perspective were known,[5] which is doubtful, it would not be wanted for these scenes. Being viewed from different parts of a theatre — from different points of station rather widely separated, parallel perspective offers less distortion, the planes parallel to the picture plane showing about as well from one station point as from another." The object of this scene painting was to deceive the eye into believing that the buildings were real architecture, that is, that the space in the scene and the space in front of it where the actors moved was the *same* space. The problem is somewhat similar to that which actuated the Renaissance painter Mantegna. Polybius (second century B.C.) quotes another historian (Timaeus) as citing this deception to illustrate the difference between history and epideictic writing.[6] "Actually in order to glorify history

[1] *De Architectura*, VII, Proem.: "Namque primum Agatharcus Athenis Aeschylo docente tragoediam scaenam fecit et de ea commentarium reliquit. ex eo moniti Democritus et Anaxagoras de eadem re scripserunt, quemadmodum oporteat ad aciem oculorum radiorumque extentionem certo loco centro constituto lineas ratione naturali respondere, uti de incerta re certae imagines aedificiorum in scaenarum picturis redderent speciem et quae in directis planisque frontibus sint figurata, alia abscedentia alia prominentia esse videantur."

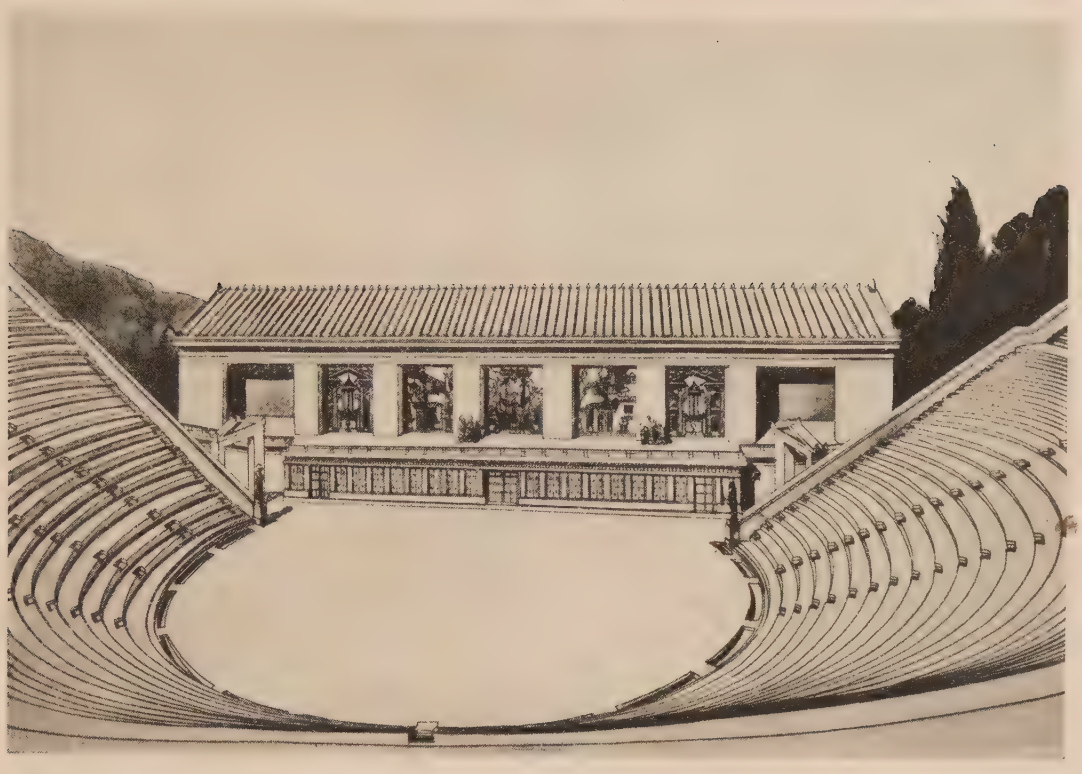
[2] Translation of Morris Hicky Morgan, p. 198. The italics are mine.

[3] To doubt Vitruvius seems to me gratuitous. Cf. J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (London, 1920), p. 257. In the list of works of Democritus given in *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius is one entitled Ἀκτινογραφίη (IX, 48). F. G. A. Mullach accepts the treatise of Anaxagoras on the evidence of Vitruvius. Cf. *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1883), Liber II, p. 244. Cf. also Ch. Zevort, *Anaxagore* (Paris, 1843), p. 37.

[4] Ben J. Lubschez, *Perspective, an elementary text book* (4th ed., New York, 1927), p. 114.

[5] That is to say, "known mathematically."

[6] Polybius, *Histories*, Bk. XII, 28[a] (The Loeb Classical Library, translation of W. R. Paton, vol. IV, pp. 406, 407). I have changed the word "furniture" to "things" to translate κατεσκευασμένα.



17. Ephesus, the late Hellenistic Theatre (Frickenhaus). The Boscoreale paintings should have been placed between the columns of the Proscenium

18. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita Ms. 43. Mark

19. London, British Museum Add. Ms. 22506. Matthew

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

he says that the difference between it and declamatory writing is as great as that between real buildings or things and the views and compositions we see in scene painting." Again in Pliny [1] we read that "at the games given by Claudius Pulcher the painting of the scenery excited great wonder, the very crows being deceived by the painted tiles and flying down to settle on them." Another passage in Vitruvius [2] says, "The look of a building when seen close at hand is one thing, on a height it is another, not the same in an enclosed place, still different in the open, and in all these cases it takes much judgment to decide what is to be done. The fact is that the eye does not always give a true impression, but very often leads the mind to form a false judgment. In painted scenery, for example, columns may appear to jut out, mutules to project, and statues to be standing in the foreground, although the picture is, of course, perfectly flat." [3] It is to be noted here that there is no mention of any human figures, only statues.

The tradition, then, is steady that in ancient times theatre scenery was architectural painting in a deceptive perspective. In still another passage Vitruvius describes theatre painting.[4] The criticism in it shows how complete was the acceptance of the tradition of perspective deception. "At Tralles, Apaturius of Alabanda designed with skillful hand the scaena of the little theatre which is there called the ἐκκλησιαστήριον representing columns in it and statues, centaurs supporting the architraves, rotundas with round roofs on them, pediments with overhanging returns, and cornices ornamented with lions' heads, which are meant for nothing but rain-water from the roofs, — and then on top of it all he made an episcaenium in which were painted rotundas (*tholi*), porticoes, half-pediments, and all the different

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV, 23. Cf. K. Jex-Blake, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), pp. 90, 91.

[2] *De Architectura*, VI, 2: "Alia enim ad manum species esse videtur, alia in excelso, non eadem in concluso, dissimilis in aperto, in quibus magni iudicii est opera quid tandem sit faciundum. non enim veros videtur habere visus effectus, sed fallitur saepius iudicio ab eo mens. quemadmodum etiam in scaenis pictis videntur columnarum proiecturae, mutulorum ecphorae, signorum figurae prominentes, cum sit tabula sine dubio ad regulam plana."

[3] Translation of Morris Hicky Morgan, pp. 174, 175.

[4] *De Architectura*, VII, 5: "Etenim etiam Trallibus cum Apaturius Alabandeus eleganti manu finxisset scaenam in minusculo theatro, quod ἐκκλησιαστήριον apud eos vocitatur, in eaque fecisset columnas signa Centauros sustinentes epistylia, tholorum rotunda tecta, fastigiorum prominentes versuras, coronasque capitibus leoninis ornatas quae omnino stillicidiorum e tectis habent rationem, praeterea supra eam nihilominus episcaenium, in quo tholi pronai semifastigia omnisque tecti varius picturis fuerat ornatus, itaque cum aspectus eius scaenae propter asperitatem eblandiretur omnium visus et iam id opus probare fuissent parati, tum Licymnius mathematicus prodiit et ait Alabandeas satis acutos ad omnes res civiles haberi, sed propter non magnum vitium indecentiae insipientes eos esse iudicatos, quod in gymnasio eorum quae sunt statuae omnes sunt causas agentes, foro discos tenentes aut currentes seu pila ludentes. ita indecens inter locorum proprietates status signorum publice civitati vitium existimationis adiecit. videamus item nunc ne Apaturii scaena efficiat et nos Alabandeas aut Abderitas. qui enim vestrum domos supra tegularum tecta potest habere aut columnas seu fastigiorum explicationes? haec enim supra contignationes ponuntur, non supra tegularum tecta. si ergo quae non possunt in veritate rationem habere facti in picturis probaverimus, accedemus et nos his civitatibus quae propter haec vitia insipientes sunt iudicatae. itaque Apaturius contra respondere non est ausus, sed sustulit scaenam et ad rationem veritatis commutatam postea correctam adprobavit."

kinds of decoration employed in a roof. The effect of the high relief in this scaena was very attractive to all who beheld it, and they were ready to give their approval to the work, when Licymnius the mathematician came forward and said that the Alabandines were considered bright enough in all matters of politics, but that on account of one slight defect, the lack of a sense of propriety, they were believed to be unintelligent. 'In their gymnasium the statues are all pleading causes, in their forum, throwing the discus, running, or playing ball. This disregard of propriety in the interchange of statues appropriate to different places has brought the state as a whole into disrepute. Let us beware lest this scaena of Apaturius make Alabandines or Abderites of us. Which of you can have houses or columns or extensive pediments on top of his tiled roof? Such things are built above floors, not above tiled roofs. Therefore if we give our approval to pictures of things which can have no reason for existence in actual fact, we shall be voluntarily associating ourselves with those communities which are believed to be unintelligent on account of just such defects.' Apaturius did not venture to make any answer, but removed (*sustulit*) the scaena, altered it so that it conformed to reality and gave satisfaction with it in its improved state." [1]

What was wrong with Apaturius' painting was that it had two storeys like the Boscoreale paintings (Fig. 10). Of course Apaturius meant that the buildings of the *episcaenium* should appear to be behind the lower ones. But Licymnius could not see it that way, being used to the scenery in one storey. Up to this time, then, theatre scenery was painted with but one set of buildings in deceptive perspective. Apaturius, who seems to have lived in the first century B.C.,[2] changed this to a two storey scheme but was forced by conservative critics to alter the painting. This evidently he could do easily enough. He took it away (it must have been painted on removable panels), painted out the *episcaenium*, and thus restored it to the traditional scheme so loved by Licymnius. In the side panels of the tripartite picture from Boscoreale (Fig. 10), the manner in which the architecture seems to pile up instead of receding lends us some sympathy for the feelings of Licymnius. But the central panel with its contrast of dark and light color gives a perfect sense of depth. The theatre tradition for the Boscoreale paintings is therefore the scheme of Apaturius with its *episcaenium*. This scheme, as far as the evidence carries us, was used first in western Asia Minor at Tralles. It is hard to believe that it was confined to this provincial town or that it originated in little Alabanda. Rather Apaturius picked it up in some of the greater coast cities of which Ephesus was the chief.

[1] Translation of Morris Hicky Morgan, pp. 212, 213.

[2] Rudolf Pagenstecker, *Alexandrinische Studien, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1917, 12 Abhandlung, p. 31.

20. Etschmiadzin Gospels
(Byz. Denk.)

21. Etschmiadzin Gospels
(Byz. Denk.)

22. Vienna,
Library of Mekhitarist Fathers, Ms. 697.
IX–X century (Macler)

23. Etschmiadzin, Patriarchal Library, Ms. 362.
Written in Monastery of St. Gregory, Melitene
A.D. 1057 (Macler)

24. Paris, Coll. S. Sevadjian No. 5 (Macler)
X Century (?)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

The background of the miniature of Mark from the codex in Stauronikita (Fig. 11) shows a scene in two storeys like the central panel from Boscoreale. In the light colored architecture of the upper part are the "rotundas" of the *episcaenium* of Apaturius. The backgrounds of Luke (Fig. 12) and Matthew (Fig. 16) of Stauronikita are painted in the more conservative and more ancient one storey scheme which goes back ultimately to Agatharchus and Athenian theatre scenery of the fifth century B.C. Thus the miniatures of the Evangelists of this codex have preserved both phases of the development of architectural scene painting — that of Agatharchus and the enrichment of Apaturius.

It is interesting and instructive to see that the greatest and most intelligent of modern scene designers, Mr. Edward Gordon Craig, has arrived in his use of screens at the same principles which inspired Agatharchus. I am not referring to the lighting, about which Agatharchus probably knew little, but to the use of parallel perspective, which, as we have seen, shows the least distortion to the eyes of spectators placed at various positions in the theatre.[1] If we compare Figs. 37 and 38 we are struck with the similarity between the background of Luke in Stauronikita 43 and one of Mr. Craig's woodcuts which is a design for a stage scene. There is the same recession of the rectangular solids (screens) thrown against the sky. All of these present one face parallel to the picture plane. There is the same large scale to give architectural space. A real understanding of fundamental theatre problems has independently produced in modern times a scenery comparable to that of the ancient Greeks. The necessity of confining the vista and limiting the space is clearly understood in both instances.

There is still more evidence that the Boscoreale wall paintings, and consequently also the backgrounds of the Stauronikita Evangelist portraits, are derived from the scenery of the Greek theatre. That the three panels of architectural painting in the Metropolitan cubiculum (Fig. 10) were thought of by the artist as one picture is not to be doubted. It follows, then, that the red columns which separate the panels are supposed to be in *front* of the picture plane. They are not in the same scale as the architecture painted in the panels, but larger. It seems as if we saw the painted architecture *through* a colonnade of large red columns which in turn rest upon a podium. Furthermore the painted panels are indicated as set back slightly behind the large columns since just behind these we see in perspective a rectangular pier against which the columns are set. What are these columns and piers? The answer given by A. Ippel[2] seems to me entirely correct. He suggests that

[1] Mr. Craig has written a vivid account of the limitations of perspective scenery in which the difficulties of spectators seated at the sides are clearly exposed. E. Gordon Craig, *Scene* (London, 1923), p. 10.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

they are the painted copies of the actual columns or half columns of the proscenium of the Hellenistic Greek theatre. These are best preserved in the theatre at Priene. The proscenium in this theatre was a colonnade of half columns painted red,[1] which in turn are set against square piers. The technical treatment of these piers is very instructive. At a depth of about six inches from the front face is a sinkage which is also present above in the architrave which they carry. In this were placed the *pinakes*[2] or painted wooden scene panels of the Greek proscenium. At Priene are still to be seen the holes in the piers for the pegs or clasps which held these painted panels in the interstices between the piers.[3] The proscenium in Priene therefore showed a row of red half columns in front of square piers between which were the architectural paintings on wooden panels (*pinakes*) which constituted the painted scenery of the Greek theatre.

These panels were removable and changeable. According to Vitruvius [4] there were three kinds of scenery of this sort. In his day the change of scene was worked by a revolving triangular prism. He says,[5] "The *scaena* itself displays the following scheme. In the center are double doors decorated like those of a royal palace. At the right and left are the doors of the guest chambers. *Alongside of these* are the spaces provided for decoration, places that the Greeks call περίακτοι, because in these are triangular pieces of machinery which revolve, each having three decorated faces. When the play is to be changed or when the gods enter to the accompaniment of sudden claps of thunder, these may be revolved and present a face differently decorated. . . . There are three kinds of scenes, one called the tragic, second, the comic, third, the satyric," and so forth, as above, p. 15.[6]

These are the three kinds of theatre scenes which Vitruvius told us before [7] were also used as wall paintings in private houses. How now is it possible to doubt that the paintings in the cubiculum from Boscoreale were inspired by the *pinakes* or panel paintings of the Greek Hellenistic theatre as they were seen between the columns and piers of the proscenium? But it may be objected that the panels and columns in the Boscoreale paintings (Fig. 10) are raised up on a podium and are not on the ground as at Priene. Such, how-

[1] Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader, *Priene* (Berlin, 1904), pp. 246, 247.

[2] For the latest discussion of the *pinakes* of Greek theatre scenery see Walter Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis* (New York, 1929), pp. 303–313.

[3] Armin von Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene* (München, 1921), Taf. VI, 2, Taf. VII, 1 and 2.

[4] Cf. note 4, p. 15.

[5] *De Architectura*, V, 6: "Ipsae autem scaenae suas habent rationes explicatas ita uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae regiae, dextra ac sinistra hospitalia, secundum autem spatia ad ornatus comparata, quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt ab eo quod machinae sunt in his locis versatiles trigonoe habentes singulae tres species ornationis, quae cum aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae seu deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, versentur mutentque speciem ornationis in fronte."

[6] Translation of Morris Hicky Morgan, p. 150. The italics show I have changed Morgan's "beyond" to "alongside of these," to translate *secundum*.

[7] A. Ippel, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

25. Matthew

26. Mark

27. Luke

28. John

Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke. A.D. 902

ever, was the arrangement of the proscenium in the late Hellenistic theatre at Ephesus [1] (Fig. 17). The columns of the proscenium are here raised on a low podium which is broken only for the habitual three doors. Frickenhaus [2] in his restoration has inserted our very Boscoreale paintings as panels into the large openings in the upper part of the *scena*. This arrangement is not correct, for it does not explain the presence of the red columns and the podium in the paintings. Both these features are made intelligible, however, if we insert the Boscoreale panels between the columns of the proscenium in this Ephesian theatre.

If the Boscoreale wall paintings are really copies of the panels of Greek theatre scenery there can no longer be any doubt about the architectural backgrounds of the Evangelists of the Ephesian types. Sometimes, as in the codex Philotheu 33 on Mt. Athos, the Evangelist is seated in front of a large section of the scene.[3] At other times, as in the Stauronikita miniatures, he has behind him only one *pinax* of the proscenium scenery. In either case the architectural background was inspired by the theatre.

But the backgrounds behind the Stauronikita Evangelists and behind those in the Rabula Gospels are not the same, although, as we now know, they were both derived from the ancient theatre. This difference, however, may be considered equivalent to that between the Boscoreale paintings and those of the Fourth Pompeian Style which von Cube has proved to be inspired by the stage. There is thus originally a difference in the tradition of theatre scenery. The Boscoreale panels come from the two storey scenery in deceptive perspective which was used in Asia Minor, as we have seen. A. Ippel in his book on the Third Pompeian Style assigns the style of the Boscoreale paintings to Asia Minor.[4] The origin of the Fourth Pompeian Style is not clear as far as provenance is concerned, but from the evidence of Rabula we may infer that it was at home, if not native, in Antioch. However, it is dependent on the development of the Roman *scaenae frontes*, and is therefore later than the scenery tradition of Boscoreale, which depends on the Hellenistic Greek proscenium abandoned when the Romans began to use a platform stage.[5] The date of the Boscoreale cubiculum is probably the first century B.C.[6] soon after Apaturius. The date of the Fourth Style paintings is after 50 A.D. and before 79 A.D.[7]

To sum up: the primitive types of Evangelists in both Ephesus and Antioch are derived from seated pagan portrait statues placed in front of the

[1] *Forschungen in Ephesos, Osterreich. Arch. Inst.*, Band II (Wien, 1912), *Das Theater in Ephesos*, pp. 25–29, Figs. 49, 56.

[2] A. Frickenhaus, *op. cit.*, Taf. I. [3] *Art Studies* (1927), p. 144. [4] A. Ippel, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[5] Wilhelm Dörpfeld und Emil Reisch, *Das griechische Theater* (Athen, 1896), pp. 385 ff.

[6] E. Petersen, *Antike Architekturmalerei, Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, Band XVIII, 1903, pp. 87–140.

[7] Mau, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

scene building of the classical theatre. In conservative Asia Minor the Evangelist copies the philosopher statues in front of late Hellenistic theatre scenery depending on good Attic models. In more volatile and progressive Antioch he is usually a Sophist in front of the later fantastic scenery derived from the Roman *scaenae frons* which we see best in Pompeian wall paintings of the Fourth Style. The similarity of both these types in their common derivation from pagan art attests their ancient primitive character. They are the *first* Evangelist portraits. The differences in their pagan prototypes prove the difference in provenance which is exactly that which we inferred from the manuscripts themselves.

Types of Evangelist Portraits in Armenian Manuscripts

The artistic history of Armenia is of great importance, not so much on account of what that nation originated as what it preserved. In the case of portraits of the Evangelists in Gospel manuscripts of the Armenian Version, the harvest will be very rich. Unfortunately, the study of these manuscripts is in its infancy and many important examples remain to be published and described.[1] Until the accessible material is more plentiful any attempt to discuss Armenian illumination comprehensively must be premature.[2] But so far as my investigations have carried me, I think I can state that no new primitive types of Evangelist portraits have survived in Armenian manuscripts. On the other hand all three of the primitive types we have studied appear, as well as the "presentation" or harmony picture of the four standing Evangelists about which I have written before[3] and to which I shall later return. The study of the Armenian Evangelist portraits will, therefore, be valuable to confirm our researches thus far.

At first the country which exerted the strongest influence on Great Armenia was Syria. The Syriac version of the New Testament seems to have been the basis of the Armenian.[4] We shall not be surprised therefore to find that both the Antiochene and Alexandrian types of Evangelists appear in Armenian manuscripts, since both these types have already appeared in the Syriac Rabula Codex. The Alexandrian standing types seem, however, to be inten-

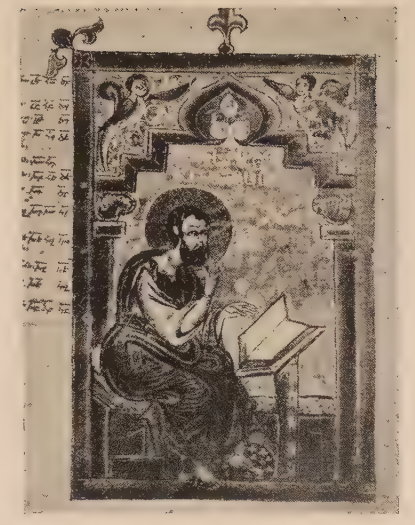
[1] R. P. Seraphim, Abdullah, et Frédéric Macler, *Etudes sur la miniature arménienne, Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques* (1909), pp. 280–302. Frédéric Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Paris, 1913). Frédéric Macler, *Documents d'art arméniens* (Paris, 1924). Reproductions of various Armenian works of art are to be found in Archag Tchobanian, *La Roseraie d'Arménie* (Paris, 1918–1923).

[2] A most important contribution will be the work of Gabriel Millet and Mlle. Der Nersessian in connection with the miniatures in the Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro, Venice.

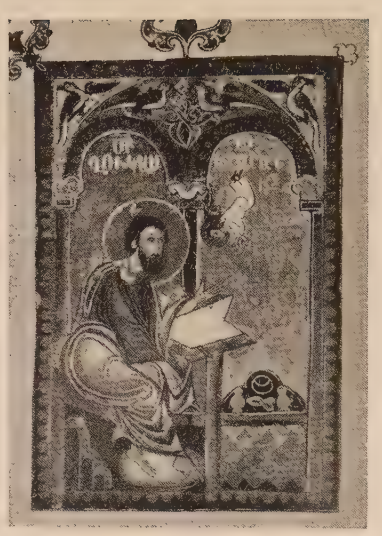
[3] *Art Studies* (1927), p. 133.

[4] Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (2d ed., London, 1926), pp. 171–174. A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (New York, 1923), pp. 71–73. A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1927), p. 399. Frédéric Macler, *Le Texte arménien de l'Evangile d'après Matthieu et Marc* (Paris, 1919), pp. xxxiv–lxxii.

29. Matthew



30. Mark



31. Luke

32. John and Prochoros

Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. Armen, I, A.D. 1278 (Leidinger). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery, Grner

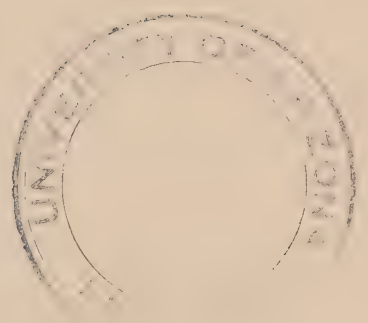
33. Mark

34. Luke

35. John and Prochoros

36. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 740. John and Prochoros

Tübingen, University Library, Gospels Ma XIII, 1, A.D. 1113 (Strzygowski). Written and painted in the Cilician Monastery, Drasark



sified in Armenia as if there were a separate direct infusion. The chief example of these types is the well known Etschmiadzin Gospels (Etschmiadzin, Library of the Patriarchate, MS. 229). The manuscript was fully published in 1891 by J. Strzygowski.[1] It contains the four Gospels written in Armenian and is dated by a colophon A.D. 989. From this we learn also that the manuscript was copied from true and old originals by John for the monk Stephen and was intended for the altar of the monastery of Noravank in the province of Vaiotzdzor (Great Armenia). In the text are marginal miniatures.[2] The beginning of the manuscript is a separate quaternion in which are the Canon tables and several miniatures. Among these are two pages (12 and 13) on which are figured the portraits of the Evangelists. They are standing two by two under great arches supported by columns (Figs. 20 and 21). These standing Evangelists, all bearded, are in front of a neutral background. They hold codices in their veiled left hands and raise their right in a gesture of blessing. In these attitudes they closely resemble the portraits of the Evangelists on the Maximianus chair,[3] and those on the Coptic relief in the Metropolitan Museum.[4] Therefore the types of the Evangelists in this manuscript are the primitive ones of Alexandria but transmitted perhaps by way of Coptic and Syriac manuscripts as the frontality of the figures suggests. According to Strzygowski the miniatures of the first quaternion are much earlier in date than the manuscript itself.[5] Dalton, after making a comparison of the arches over the miniatures and those used in the Rabula Gospels, concludes, "Either, therefore, the Etschmiadzin miniatures are themselves Syrian of the sixth century or they copy a work very close in date to the Gospel of Rabula."[6] Certainly the miniatures in the first quaternion of Etschmiadzin, including the Evangelists, are very different from those in the text and much better than they. If we agree with Dalton then they are brought into closer connection with the Syriac examples which preceded them, perhaps the "true and good" originals. However this may be, our interest is in the types of the Evangelists and these are clearly Alexandrian. Since these Alexandrian standing types were found in Rabula it is easy to understand how they were transmitted by Syriac manuscripts to Armenian ones.

The vogue of the standing Evangelists paired under arches continued in Great Armenia, as several examples of the ninth and tenth centuries attest.[7]

[1] Josef Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar, Byzantinische Denkmäler*, vol. I (Wien, 1891). The Evangelists are reproduced on Plate III.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23. [3] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 26. [4] *Ibid.*, Fig. 25.

[5] J. Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff. [6] O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

[7] J. Strzygowski, *Ein zweites Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar, Huschardzan Festschrift aus Anlass des 100 Jährigen Bestandes der Mechitharisten-Kongregation in Wien* (Wien, 1911), pp. 345–352, Pl. III. Other examples occur in the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem and at San Lazzaro, Venice. Cf. J. Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei* (Tübingen, 1907), p. 22, note 2.

It is not necessary to show them here. But in many manuscripts we find the standing types used in another arrangement. This is best seen in a manuscript of the Gospels preserved in the Library of the Mechitarists at Vienna (No. 697). This manuscript, which consists of only eight folios, the beginning of an illuminated Gospel book, can be dated in the IX–X century.[1] On folio 8 *verso* (Fig. 22) the four Evangelists represented standing holding their codices are grouped together on one page, the background of which is neutral. This recalls at once the grouping of the standing Evangelists on one page in the Vatican codex gr. 756, folio 11 *verso*.[2] Opposite this Vatican miniature was the figure of Christ toward whom all four were walking offering their books. In the Armenian manuscript the meaning of the "Presentation" picture has dropped with the omission of the figure of Christ, so the Evangelists are again frontal. But the idea of a *harmony* of the four Gospels has grouped them together on one page.

In two other Armenian Gospel codices we can see the influence of the "Presentation" picture. The older of these is the Gospel manuscript in the collection of S. Sevadjian, No. 5. The manuscript is incomplete, lacking the pages at the end which if preserved would doubtless, in the manner of Armenian codices, have told us all about its making. However, Macler[3] dates the codex in the tenth century. On one of the folios[4] the four Evangelists are grouped under four arches (Fig. 24), advancing towards each other offering their books. This action has no meaning except by reference to the "Presentation" picture in Vatican cod. gr. 756, which enables us to see in the Armenian miniature the debris of the original idea — the presentation of the Gospels to Christ.

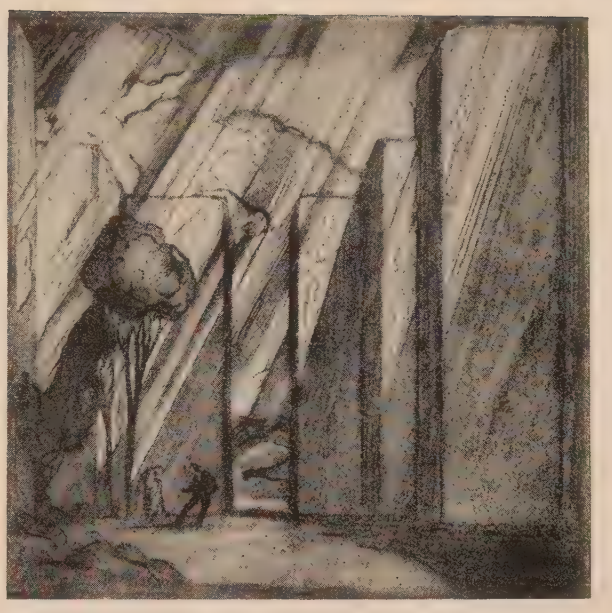
In manuscript No. 362, folio 11 v., in the Patriarchal Library at Etschmiadzin,[5] we see another example of the four Evangelists grouped on one page advancing towards each other with their books (Fig. 23) — a debased copy of part of the ancient "Presentation" picture. The manuscript 362 was copied A.D. 1057 by the priest Thomas, in the Convent of Saint Gregory at Melitene in Great Armenia.[6]

Thus in three early Armenian manuscripts we find the influence of the important picture wherein the Evangelists present their books to Christ. The origin and significance of this picture I shall discuss later in this treatise when I come to treat secondary types and pictures derived from the primitive ones.

When we turn from the manuscripts made in Great Armenia to those painted in Little Armenia (Cilicia) a change will be noted in the types employed for the Evangelists. In Little Armenia these figures instead of stand-

[1] Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, pp. 12, 13, Pl. VIII, Fig. 16.
[2] *Art Studies* (1927), Figs. 84, 85.
[3] *Documents d'art arméniens*, p. 37.
[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. VI.
[5] Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Pl. XIV, Fig. 27.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

37. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, Ms. 43. Luke



38. Woodcut by Edward Gordon Craig. Theatre scene. (Woodcuts and some Words)

39. Pompeii, Casa dei Gladiatori (Palaestra) Theatre scene in Fourth Pompeian Style (Niccolini)

40. Venice, San Lazzaro, Gospels of Queen Mlke. Matthew

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

ing are represented seated in front of desks. Behind them we see the architectural backgrounds.

Perhaps the best example of these types is the Gospel book preserved in the Library of the University of Tübingen (Ma XIII, 1), written in the Cilician monastery of Drasark in A.D. 1113. It was fully published by J. Strzygowski in 1907.[1] In this publication, Strzygowski has given the most helpful short account of the types of the Evangelist portraits in which a clear distinction was made between the standing types of Alexandria and the seated ones of Asia Minor.[2] Thus he was the first to attempt to group the Evangelist portraits into categories and to assign a provenance to his groups; here, as in so many other instances, the Austrian scholar was the pioneer. Strzygowski recognized that the types of portraits in the Tübingen manuscript are those of Asia Minor. The codex lacks the miniature of Matthew. The portrait of Mark (Fig. 33) is exactly the type of Mark in Stauronikita 43[3] and in Petrograd Gr. 21.[4] The type of Luke (Fig. 34) is the same as that of Luke in Dionysiu 34[5] and of Matthew in Petrograd Gr. 21.[6] John is represented with Prochoros (Fig. 35) exactly as in the Gospels in Florence, Conventi Soppressi 160.[7] However in this case the mountain background has been discarded by the Armenian artist in favor of the architectural one he found behind the other three Evangelists, a substitution usual in Armenian manuscripts. An exception is found in the very fine miniature in a thirteenth century Gospel book in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS. 740) (Fig. 36), wherein the landscape background is retained, showing how very closely the Armenian artist could approximate the Greek.

The presence, however, of the type of John which presupposes the legend of Prochoros shows that the Ephesian types were taken over by the illuminators of Little Armenia after this later picture had been substituted for the traditional seated figure in the series of Evangelist portraits. This would have been after the tenth century,[8] the prototypes coming from Constantinople rather than directly from Asia Minor. The types of the Evangelists used in the manuscripts written in Little Armenia belong rather to our history of mediaeval than of primitive types, and we shall discuss these mediaeval types more fully later.

To the later period belong also the portraits of the Evangelists in the Gospel book in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cod. Armen. I).[9] This manu-

[1] Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei, die Miniaturen des Tübinger Evangeliars Ma XIII, 1. vom J. 1113, bezw. 893. N. Chr., Atlas zum Katalog der Armenischen Handschriften, K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen* (1907).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

[3] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 96.

[4] *Ibid.*, Fig. 109.

[5] *Ibid.*, Fig. 130.

[6] *Ibid.*, Fig. 108.

[7] *Ibid.*, Fig. 176.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[9] Emil Gratze, *Drei Armenische Miniaturen-Handschriften (Cod. Armen. 1, 6, und 8), Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof.- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, herausg. von Georg Leidinger, Heft 4, pp. 7–15, Taf. 1–18.

script was written in A.D. 1278 in the Cilician convent Grner. The types of Evangelists are all familiar in Greek manuscripts. Matthew (Fig. 29) recalls the figure of Luke in Dionysiu 34.[1] Mark (Fig. 30) is in the same pose as Matthew in Paris, Coislin Gr. 31, fol. 5 *verso* (this miniature has not been published). Luke (Fig. 31) resembles the figure of Matthew in MS. 647 of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.[2] The last miniature shows the picture of John and Prochoros (Fig. 32) but with an architectural background substituted for the island of Patmos required by the legend.

Thus we see in the Evangelist portraits of the manuscripts of Little Armenia nothing new. The seated types of Asia Minor are steadily used with the addition of the picture of John and Prochoros, which also is Greek in origin, although later than the primitive types in invention.

The most important Armenian manuscript containing the portraits of the Evangelists is the famous Gospels of Queen Mlke,[3] preserved in the library of the Mechitarist monastery on the island of San Lazzaro near Venice (MS. 1144). This remarkable manuscript was ordered by the Armenian Queen Mlke, the niece of Smbat I, who reigned as King of Armenia 890–914 A.D. She presented it to the monastery of Varag near Van in Great Armenia, and it is probable that the codex was written and painted in the same monastery. It is dated A.D. 902.[4]

At the beginning of the book are six illuminated folios. First there are five pages of Canon Tables under great arches which recall those of the Etschmiadzin Gospels and Rabula. Then follows a full page minature of the Ascension which preserves the general characteristics of its obviously Syrian model. The four portraits of the Evangelists, each occupying a full page, complete the decoration of the manuscript (Figs. 25, 26, 27, 28). A glance at these portraits will show that the types are mixed. Two figures are seated; two stand. This was the case also in the Rabula Gospels. We are quite prepared to agree with Strzygowski that these "Evangelist portraits were not invented in A.D. 902 by an Armenian artist, but were copied faithfully after old Syrian models." [5] But like Rabula the Syrian original already had the mixture of the standing Alexandrian types and the seated Antiochene ones.

The seated Evangelist portraits in Queen Mlke's Gospels are seemingly new to us both in respect to poses and backgrounds. Matthew (Fig. 25) is seated very casually on a bench with a back. His legs are crossed at the knee. The right arm is raised to the chin in a gesture of recollection rather than of profound thought. This arm rests on the wrist of his left hand, in which he

[1] *Art Studies* (1927), Fig. 130. [2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 125.

[3] P. R. Alishan, *Die Miniaturen des Evangeliars der Königin Mlke* (Venice, S. Lazzaro, 1902). In Armenian.

[4] See review of the work of Alishan by J. Strzygowski in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, vol. XIV (1905), pp. 728–732.

[5] Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, p. 731. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 438, note 2.

holds a scroll. The attitude is an active, expectant, rather than a passive one. Mark (Fig. 26) is seated in a folding chair somewhat similar to that of John in the Rabula Gospels, or to the folding stool of the little bronze Sophist in the British Museum. He holds an open codex in his lap in which he seems to be about to write with his tightly clutched pen. Both Evangelists are seated in three quarter view in front of elaborate bookstands. That of Matthew is shaped like a lion; that of Mark like an eagle.[1] The background behind the portraits shows striped curtains, caught up at the ends and sagging in the middle, thus hanging with many folds. This is a new background for Evangelist portraits.

The standing Evangelists, Luke and John (Figs. 27, 28) show the poses well known to us in Egyptian and Syrian examples.[2] But instead of the usual neutral background, we see that the curtains of the seated types have found their way also behind these standing ones. However, for a standing figure a single curtain will not fill in the background. Consequently the artist of the original model of the Mlke Gospels filled up the rest of the space with a queer wall composed of a number of longitudinal sections with sunk panels and mouldings. In the case of Luke it appears *below* the curtain, very close to the standing figure. In John the feature is above. In both cases the Armenian artist could not have known what it was he was copying. Still I think he has preserved the model well enough to hazard a guess at its identification.

The curtain backgrounds in the Gospels of Queen Mlke will be familiar if we recall the manner of handling curtains in the Fourth Style painting on the walls of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii (Fig. 9) and in the theatrical relief at Naples.[3] In the Armenian manuscript they are hung in the same free style, bunched at the corners, sagging in the middle. In the case of the standing Evangelists, these curtains hang down characteristically in *front* of the panelled wall. It is the wall that presents the difficulty. At first sight it may seem like the many recessed *exedra* which we saw behind Luke in Stauronikita 43 (Fig. 15). But the scale is too minute. Furthermore it does not project *above* the curtain in the case of Luke in the Mlke Gospels. The Evangelist stands almost against it. The feature is more like a fence than a monumental set of towers. I think we can find the original of this fence in another painting of the Fourth Style in Pompeii, the decoration of the wall of the so-called Palaestra (Reg. VIII, ins. 2, No. 23).[4] In this there is a screen wall composed

[1] I do not see in these bookstands any necessary connection with the symbols of the Evangelists.

[2] *Art Studies* (1927), Figs. 24, 25, 26, and the standing Evangelists in the Rabula Gospels.

[3] Bieber, *op. cit.*, Taf. 89.

[4] *Ibid.*, Taf. 41. The seated figure of the central niche is incorrectly drawn in Abb. 81, as it is also in von Cube, *op. cit.*, Taf. IV. The reproduction given herewith is from Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei* (Napoli, 1854–1896), where it is correctly drawn and colored.

of narrow vertical boards on which are sunk panels with mouldings (Fig. 39). The panels of this wooden wall swing open at times thus serving as doors. In the painting the light catches on the edges of the boards and panels to give vertical high lights. These high lights can be seen also in the wall behind the Evangelists in the manuscript. The comparison makes it probable that this kind of wooden screen wall is the original of the distorted version presented to us by the work of the Armenian artist.

Thus in the Gospels of Queen Mlke the backgrounds behind the Evangelists are composed of elements which appear likewise in Pompeian paintings of the Fourth Style. The two wall paintings cited above have been shown by von Cube to be pictorial translations of the Roman *scenae frons*. Once again the backgrounds of the Evangelist portraits turn out to be derived from the theatre scene. The connection of these backgrounds in the Mlke Gospels with the Fourth Pompeian Style through the use of similar curtains and panelled screen walls makes certain that this manuscript was copied, as Strzygowski says, from a Syrian original. The standing types of Evangelist portraits, as in Rabula, are the primitive Alexandrian ones. We cannot escape the conclusion that the seated Evangelists in the Armenian Gospels are two more of the primitive Antiochene ones of which the two others have already been identified in Rabula.

The evidence which will cement the connection of the seated Evangelists in the Gospels of Queen Mlke with the Fourth Pompeian Style and hence with Syria and Antioch is, it seems to me, undeniable. According to von Cube, the painting in the Fourth Style on the wall of the Palaestra at Pompeii represents a Roman stage front (Fig. 39). In the niche in the centre of the stage platform is a seated figure. He is painted in bronze color, consequently the figure is a bronze statue in front of the stage. If we look closely at this statue we discover that it is the portrait of a Philosopher. His legs are crossed at the knees. His right arm is raised to the chin in a gesture of recollection. The elbow rests on his left wrist. So the pose of this figure is identical with that of Matthew (Fig. 40) in the Gospels of Queen Mlke. This can hardly be an accident. Here at last, in front of the stage building itself, we have found represented one of the bronze statues of Philosophers and Sophists which inspired the poses of the figures of the seated Evangelists. This is one of the proofs that these primitive portrait types were made up by seeing the ancient statues in front of the theatre scene. The evidence connecting the earliest seated portraits of the Evangelists with pagan author statues and theatre scenery is consistent and convincing.

The Armenian Gospels of Queen Mlke are thus an indispensable document for the discovery of the primitive Evangelist types of Antioch. By means of this manuscript and the Rabula Gospels we can assume with confidence

that the Gospel manuscripts written in Greek in the Syrian capital were embellished at a fairly early time (third century at least) with the portraits of the four Evangelists seated in front of a background derived from the paintings of the Fourth Pompeian Style.

Summary

The Rabula Gospels show a combination of the primitive Antiochene Evangelist types with the primitive Alexandrian ones. The Gospels of Queen Mlke show exactly the same combination. By means of these two manuscripts we have discovered another set of primitive types — the seated ones of Antioch.

The remains of Georgian and Coptic illumination, so far as I know them, present no evidence for any other primitive types. But on this point I make merely a guess since as yet there are no comprehensive published investigations. The Georgian manuscripts ought to be of great value to corroborate Greek and Armenian testimony.[1] The Coptic codices[2] also show a rich mixture. Later, when I come to discuss mediaeval Greek types, I hope to treat both the Georgian and Coptic Evangelist portraits more fully. In the next article of this outline investigation, I shall deal with the primitive types of Evangelist portraits in the West — in the manuscripts of the Latin Versions.

[1] Georgian miniatures still await any adequate publication. A short sketch is contained in J. Mourier, *L'Art au Caucase* (Bruxelles, 1907), pp. 88–95. The portraits of the four Evangelists in the Greek Gospels at the monastery of Gelati belonging to King David the Restorer (1088–1125) are Constantinopolitan types of the eleventh century with the addition of the symbolic Beasts. These miniatures are published in color in Prince Gregoire Gagarine, *Recueil d'ornements et d'oeuvres d'architecture byzantins, georgiens et russes* (2me série, St. Petersbourg, 1903), Pl. XXVIII.

[2] The publications of Hyvernat are making these miniatures accessible. Cf. also Baumstark, *Eine antike Bildkomposition in christlich-orientalischen Umdeutungen, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. VIII (1915), pp. 111–123, Taf. 31, 32. The best-known manuscript is in the Vatican Library, Copt. 9. The portraits of the Evangelists are very mixed in types. There are reminiscences of the "Presentation" picture in the portrait of Matthew. The other miniatures show the seated types originally from Asia Minor. Here the classical Muses have become in two cases archangels and in the third case (John) the Virgin Mary.

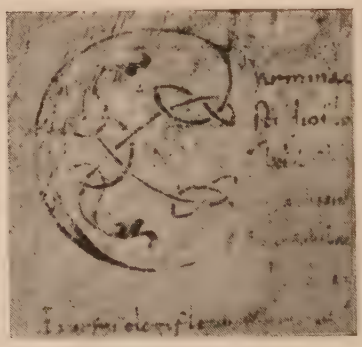
THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

1. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12.
Arithmetic of Boethius (Boinet)

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (42), *Luxuria enters battle in biga;* (43), *Luxuria flatters the Virtues*

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)



4. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Ms. lat. 8318 (P1)

5. Collection A. Chester Beatty.
Manuscript of School of Tours,
9th century (Catalogue of
H. Y. Thompson Coll.)

THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS [1]

By HELEN WOODRUFF

The work of the late Richard Stettiner [2] on the illuminated manuscripts of Prudentius, comprising a critical study of the illustrations (1895) and a reproduction of the illustrations themselves (*Tafelband*, 1905), represented as comprehensive a view of this subject as was possible with the material then available. The last twenty odd years have brought to light enough additional material having a direct bearing on the Prudentius illustrations to justify an attempt at a reëstimate of the problem. It is with the purpose of bringing the investigation up to date in the light of information now available that the present analysis is undertaken. It proposes to substitute a new stemma for the development of the illustrations, to date and place some of the intermediate lost archetypes, and to introduce a new theory regarding the date, origin and character of the original. The study is limited to a consideration of the illustrations of the *Psychomachia*.

As far as possible Stettiner's terminology and grouping will be used. A complete description of the separate scenes of the illustrations will be omitted, since such a description is to be found in Part III of Stettiner's text. The reproductions in the *Tafelband* are too small in many cases for a study of style, but are adequate for a comparison of corresponding scenes. Reference will therefore be made to the *Tafelband* only where illustrations do not accompany this article. The volume of 1905 is to be found in almost any library, but few copies of the text are available in America. A summary statement of the existing problem concerning the Prudentius manuscripts will therefore be made, and Stettiner's conclusions given.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens [3] was born about 348 in northern Spain near the Pyrenees, when Constans and Constantius were emperors. His knowledge of the Latin classics was considerable, and definite influence of Horace, Virgil and others is found in the style and meter of his writings. Of Greek he had

[1] This study was undertaken by the writer as Fellow of the Archaeological Institute in Mediaeval and Renaissance Archaeology; I am indebted to Professor C. R. Morey, Chairman of the Committee of the Institute on Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, for suggestions and advice.

[2] Richard Stettiner, *Die Illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1895; *Tafelband*, Berlin, 1905.

[3] Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1862), vols. 59, 60. W. Smith and H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London, 1887. Theodorus Obbarius, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina*, Tubingae, 1845. F. St. J. Thackeray, *Translations from Prudentius*, London, 1890. A. Dressel, *Aurelii Prudentii Clementis; Quae Extant Carmina* (Lipsiae, 1860), vol. LXVIII. J. M. Burnam, *Glossemata de Prudentio*, in *University of Cincinnati Studies*, vol. I, Series II, 1905. E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, *Die Althochdeutschen Glossen* (Berlin, 1882), vol. II. L. Delisle, *Note sur le manuscrit de Prudence, No. 8084, du fonds latin de la Bibliothèque Impériale, Extrait de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 6e Série, t. III.

little knowledge, though he frequently bestowed Greek titles on his poems. It is known that he practised law and twice held civil office, once under Theodosius. After a visit to Rome, where the political problems, the glamor attached to the accounts of the martyrs, and the new Christian art stirred his interest, he began his important writing. In 405 appeared a collection of his poems, but the *Psychomachia* was not among them. It is believed that he received his religious impressions late in life, and possibly entered some religious society. Little is heard of him after 405, and by 410 he was probably dead. The *Psychomachia* doubtless dates from these last years of his life. This poem, "The War of the Soul," is a description of the struggle between passion and duty — an allegorical treatment of the Virtues battling with their adversaries the Vices, and their complete and overwhelming victory, not without a certain spice of intrigue. The *Psychomachia* was to become the most popular of Prudentius' writings during the Middle Ages.

If Prudentius belongs in the period of the aftermath of classic writing, he nevertheless was of that period of great Christian development which forms the link with the Apostolic Age. The best literature of his day was the product of Spain and Gaul quite as much as of Italy. Among the writers were Paulus Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, the friend of Augustine; C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, a Spanish presbyter who rendered the Gospels into Latin verse; to Caelius Sedulius of Seville; Priscillian, Bishop of Avila; Ausonius and Rutilius, both natives of Gaul; Paulinus, Bishop of Nola; and the three great luminaries, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose.

While Prudentius is mentioned by many of the early writers, Gennadius, presbyter of Marseilles, is the first biographer to give a list of his works.[1] Gennadius' activity belongs to the fifth century, that is, to the period immediately following the writing of the poems themselves. In the sixth century the poems were studied and edited by Vettius Agorius Basilius, the consul. The oldest extant copy of the writings of Prudentius belongs to this century,[2] but it contains no illustrations and no indication that an illustrated *Psychomachia* existed. It is curious that with the frequent quotation of Prudentius by such writers as Sidonius Apollinaris, Avitus, Leo, Rabanus Maurus and Alcuin, none gives any indication that he knew of an illustrated *Psychomachia*, though an illustrated copy must have been in circulation. In the tenth century Prudentius was used as a common schoolbook by the Archbishop Bruno. On no other book except the Bible are so many Old German glosses found.

Of the extant manuscripts dating before the end of the thirteenth century, twenty contain from two to ninety illustrations of the *Psychomachia*.[3] Stet-

[1] *De Viris Illustribus;* Migne, *op cit.*, vol. 58, col. 1067. [2] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8084.

[3] The scenes and the verses which they immediately precede are as follows: *Praefatio*, scene (1), v. 1, Abraham sacrifices Isaac; (2), v. 15, Lot captured by the kings; (3), v. 19, Abraham rescues Lot; (4), v. 34, Abraham returns

tiner shows conclusively that these illustrations derive from a common original; they have the same general arrangement of figures, illustrate the same portions of the text, and the figures usually employ the same weapons.[1] In spite of the common derivation, two lines of development can be traced, and the manuscripts divided into two groups. Group I represents the Virtues in long garments with a mantle often drawn over the head, unless the text specifically designates another costume, as the armor which Pudicitia and Patientia wear; the Vices are in either long or short tunics, sometimes with mantle fastened on the shoulder, and occasionally in short, belted garment fastened, on one shoulder and leaving the other bare. Group II generally represents the Virtues as warriors, in mail and wearing helmets; the Vices in short costume, the skirt of which is divided into three parts resembling the skins worn by shepherds, and is described as a flame-skirt. The hair of the Vices is dishevelled, flying in strands which also suggest flames. Other details as to grouping, arms used and omission of figures also divide the manuscripts into two groups.

with Lot; (5), v. 38, Abraham and Melchisedek; (6), v. 45, Abraham and the angels; *Psychomachia*, (7), v. 1, Prudentius invokes God; (8), v. 21, Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum; (9), v. 30, Fides conquers Cultura Deorum; (10), v. 36, Fides crowns the martyrs; (11), v. 40, Pudicitia attacked by Libido; (12), v. 46, Pudicitia disarms Libido; (13), v. 50, Pudicitia stabs Libido with a sword; (14), v. 53, Pudicitia inveighs against Libido; (15), v. 99, Pudicitia washes sword; (16), v. 107, Pudicitia dedicates sword; (17), v. 109, Patientia undaunted by the Vices; (18), v. 113, Patientia accosted by Ira; (19), v. 118, Patientia derided by Ira; (20), v. 121, Ira throws lance at Patientia; (21), v. 125, Ira's weapon breaks; (22), v. 137, Ira attacks Patientia with sword; (23), v. 145, Ira's sword breaks; (24), v. 151, Ira kills herself; (25), v. 155, Patientia inveighs against Ira; (26), v. 162, Patientia with Job; (27), v. 169, Patientia advises Job; (28), v. 172, Patientia addresses the Virtues; (29), v. 178, Superbia enters ranks; (30), v. 190, Superbia rides spirited horse; (31), v. 194, Superbia threatens Humilitas and Spes; (32), v. 253, Superbia rides down Humilitas and Spes; (33), v. 257, Superbia falls into pit; (34), v. 274, Humilitas derides Superbia; (35), v. 278, Spes lends sword to Humilitas; (36), v. 280, Humilitas decapitates Superbia; (37), v. 282, Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes; (38), v. 284, Spes inveighs against Superbia; (39), v. 305, Spes flies to heaven; (40), v. 310, Luxuria feasting; (41), v. 316, Luxuria hears battle trumpets; (42), v. 321, Luxuria enters battle in chariot; (43), v. 323, Luxuria flatters the Virtues; (44), v. 332, Luxuria persuades men to throw down arms; (45), v. 340, Luxuria tempts men; (46), v. 344, Sobrietas reproaches renegades; (47), v. 407, Sobrietas halts Luxuria; (48), v. 417, Sobrietas throws stone at Luxuria; (49), v. 427, Sobrietas inveighs against Luxuria; (50), v. 432, Jocus throws away cymbals; (51), v. 436, Amor flees; (52), v. 439, Pompa throws away ornaments; (53), v. 443, Voluptas flees; (54), v. 450, Sobrietas declines spoils; (55), v. 454, Avaritia gathers spoils; (56), v. 458, Avaritia conceals spoils in garment; (57), v. 464, Avaritia's offspring; (58), v. 480, Avaritia as cause of crime; (59), v. 486, Avaritia as deluder; (60), v. 490, Avaritia casts men into flames; (61), v. 551, Avaritia disguised; (62), v. 557, Avaritia deceives men; (63), v. 564, Avaritia fetters men; (64), v. 568, Avaritia doubted by Virtues; (65), v. 573, Avaritia attacked by Largitas; (66), v. 584, Avaritia stupefied; (67), v. 589, Largitas binds Avaritia; (68), v. 596, Largitas crushes Avaritia; (69), v. 598, Largitas divides spoils among poor; (70), v. 604, Largitas rejoices with throng; (71), v. 629, Pax arrives; (72), v. 636, Pax intervenes; (73), v. 639, Virtues see Hand of God; (74), v. 644, Concordia orders standards into camp; (75), v. 646, Concordia leads throng to city; (76), v. 665, Virtues arrive at city; (77), v. 667, Discordia stabs Concordia; (78), v. 681, Discordia discovered by Virtues; (79), v. 705, Discordia seized by Virtues; (80), v. 715, Fides strikes Discordia; (81), v. 719, Discordia dismembered; (82), v. 726, Virtues build tribunal; (83), v. 734, Fides and Concordia (Caritas) mount tribunal; (84), v. 740, Fides assembles men; (85), v. 746, Concordia addresses Virtues; (86), v. 799, Fides addresses Virtues; (87), v. 823, Fides and Concordia measure ground; (88), v. 830, Temple; (89), v. 868, Sapientia seated in temple; (90), v. 888, Prudentius offers prayer. During the course of development three additional scenes were added to the series: (3′), v. 34, Abraham routs the kings; (33′), v. 253, Fraus digs pit; (61′) v. 501, Ratio shields the priests.

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–166.

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF PRUDENTIUS

Manuscripts of Group I

1

(P1)[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318.
French manuscript of the tenth century, possibly from the region of Tours. *Figures* 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 36, 39, 76, 121, 122.
Stettiner, pp. 3–10, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 1–12, 15, 16.

The manuscript was formerly in the Colbert Collection; its previous history is unknown. Both the *Psychomachia* and a commentary on the Virtues and Vices (author unknown) contain line drawings. Those of the *Psychomachia* have served as models for the commentary, and are by the same hand. The drawings resemble ninth century work of the School of Tours, notably the *Arithmetic of Boethius*[2] (cf. Figs. 1, 2, 3, 9). The initial letter *C* on fol. 49v. of the Prudentius, which begins an introductory verse of the *Liber de consolatione philosophiae I* of Boethius and is on the same page with the beginning of the *Psychomachia*, suggests the initial style of Tours in its delicate character, the leaf forms which terminate the letter, and the strap ornament within the outlines; it can be compared with a letter *M* in a manuscript of the A. Chester Beatty Collection[3] which came from the Library of St. Martin at Tours (cf. Figs. 4, 5). The characteristic profile of Tours seen in the medallion heads of the Emperors, as in the *Evangelary of Prüm*,[4] can be compared with *Gula* on fol. 53 of the Prudentius.[5] The fact that an illustrated *Psychomachia*, now in Leyden (see below), which is known to be from the region of Limoges, is almost identical with P1 as to iconography, and is in a similar though much cruder style, also indicates that P1 came from central France. A manuscript of the School of Tours, now in Bern,[6] dating from the ninth century has on fol. 54v. an entry headed *Auctores huius monasterii*, in which the *Psychomachia* is twice mentioned, *Sichemachia* and *Prudentii Sichemachie*. Only the names of other authors are mentioned, which suggests that the *Psychomachia* was of particular importance in this Turonian scriptorium.

The manuscript P1 is especially important for the reconstruction of the Prudentius archetype, since it preserves the antique style better than any of the other manuscripts. Abraham in the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac and in

[1] The manuscripts will be referred to in the discussion by a letter and number indicating the present location of the manuscript and whether it is the first, second or third manuscript in that place, as P1 for the first Paris Prudentius.

[2] Bamberg, Bibl. Roy., H. J. IV. 12.

[3] *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, Catalogue*, London, 1927. The manuscript was formerly in the H. Y. Thompson Collection, Ms. No. C.

[4] Berlin, Staatsbibl., Lat. theol. fol. 730; A. Boinet, *La Miniature carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

[5] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 12.

[6] Stadtbibl., Cod. 4.

6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. *Psalter* (Boinet)

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79. *Psalter* (Boinet)

7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*

9. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, H. J. IV. 12. *Arithmetic of Boethius* (Boinet)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

the encounter with the Three Angels is derived from the East Christian type of Christ to be seen in the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula*,[1] the sixth century *Codex Rossanensis*,[2] and in the Abraham type of the fifth century *Vienna Genesis*[3] (cf. Figs. 10, 11, 13, 14). Such motives as the orant Avaritia,[4] the Amazon warrior,[5] and Superbia on horseback with mantle flying over her head,[6] could have been copied only from a model much older than the tenth century.[7]

Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. reg. lat. 596.
Part of the above manuscript P1.
Stettiner, pp. 3–10, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 13, 14, 17, 18.

The manuscript was formerly in the Library of Christine of Sweden. On fol. 27 is a sketch of the Holy Sepulchre consisting of three stories surmounted by a dome which is flanked at the top by two sleeping guards. This type of Holy Sepulchre has been shown to be characteristic of representations produced in Provence.[8] It is further evidence therefore of the South French origin of the manuscript.

2

(Le1) Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek. Cod. Vossianus lat. oct. 15.
French manuscript of the ninth century, from Limoges or St. Éparque in Angoulême. *Figures* 12, 40, 41, 82, 93, 104, 109, 127.
Stettiner, pp. 11–16, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 19–30.
L. Delisle, *Notice sur les Manuscrits originaux d'Ademar de Chabannes*, Paris, 1896.

The illustrations to the *Psychomachia* are placed together on fols. 37–43, separate from the text. In the margins of the text, opposite the lines where illustrations are generally inserted, are title inscriptions which are different from those accompanying the drawings. The illustrations are sketchily executed, but in spite of their rude appearance, follow their model closely, as comparison with the manuscript P1 will show (Figs. 10, 76, 104). When the scenes are crowded on the page, the illuminator has drawn a line, or two closely spaced parallel lines, between and sometimes across the bottom of the pictures. The idea of thus framing the illustrations was probably supplied by the model, since a similar use of parallel lines is found in P1 (cf. Figs. 2, 104). The original archetype may have shown complete frames about all of the

[1] Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana, Plut. I, 56.
[2] Rossano, Cathedral Library; Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, Rome, 1907.
[3] Vienna, Bibl. Imp., Cod. theol. gr., 31; Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895.
[4] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 6.
[5] *Ibid.*, *Taf.* 7.
[6] *Ibid.*, *Taf.* 12.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–170, with description of the antique motives. In Part III Stettiner indicates the probable closeness of each scene to the archetype.
[8] E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, in *Art Studies*, II (1924), 85–112.

illustrations; P1 has a frame about the scene of *Abraham and Isaac*, and the three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which were derived from a model of the same class, employ the frame throughout (cf. Figs. 7, 60). This practice is an indication of the antiquity of the archetype and is to be compared with the use of frames in such manuscripts as the *Vatican Virgil*[1] and the *Ambrosian Iliad*.[2]

On fol. 141v. of the manuscript the following notice is found: *Hic est liber sanctissimi domini nostri Marcialis Lemouicensis ex libris bone memorie Ademari grammatici. Nam postquam multos annos peregit in Domini servitio ac simul in monachico ordine in eiusdem patris cenobio, profecturus Hierosolimam ad sepulchrum Domini, nec inde reversurus, multos libros, in quibus sudaverat, eidem suo pastori ac nutritori reliquit, ex quibus hic est unus.* Holder-Egger has identified this *Ademarus grammaticus* with the historian Ademar of Chabannais, born in 988, connected with the Monastery of St. Éparque in Angoulême, and later with St. Martial at Limoges.[3] In 1028 he undertook a journey to Jerusalem, where he died in 1034. A considerable number of manuscripts owned by Ademar are known, and some of them were certainly copied by his own hand.[4] Whether he also executed the drawings of the Prudentius cannot be determined with certainty, but it is probable that he made these rough drawings himself. Among the sketches bound with the *Psychomachia* is one which can be connected in style with a drawing in a manuscript, now in Paris, which belonged to Ademar.[5] This drawing represents St. Éparque flanked by four heads at the right and one at the left which is labelled *Ademarus* (cf. Figs. 12, 15). The Prudentius manuscript may, therefore, be dated before 1028 and considered an example of the style of St. Éparque or Limoges, that is, of southern France.

3

(C) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College. Ms. No. 23.
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eleventh century, from the Abbey of Malmesbury.
Stettiner, pp. 17–22; *Tafeln* 31–34, 49–66.
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.

The drawings for the *Psychomachia* are executed in black, red, and green, and are framed by two parallel lines about a centimeter apart. When some portion of the drawing extends well beyond the main body of the illustration, that portion is allowed to penetrate into or go beyond the frame. A similar break in the frame occurs in the manuscript P1, where the frame is inter-

[1] Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. vat. lat. 3225; P. de Nolhac, *Le Virgile du Vatican et ses peintures*, Paris, 1897.
[2] Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F. 205; Ceriani, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae*, etc., Milan, 1905.
[3] *Neues Archiv für alt. deutsche Gesch.*, VII (1882), 630 ff.
[4] L. Delisle, *Notices sur les Manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes*, Paris, 1896.
[5] Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 3784.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (6), *Abraham and the angels*

11. Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31. *Vienna Genesis* (detail) (Wickhoff)

12. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1) (Stettiner)

13. Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. I, 56. *Gospel of Rabula*

14. Rossano, Cathedral Library, *Codex Purpureus*

15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 3784. *St. Éparque* (Delisle)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

rupted by an altar (Fig. 7). The practice was, therefore, probably a peculiarity of the archetype.

A dedicatory verse on fol. 2v. indicates that the manuscript came from the Abbey of Malmesbury. The *Athelwerd* mentioned in the verse was probably the abbot of the foundation. Two abbots of the name were connected with the Abbey, one in 982, the other from 1040 to 1050.[1] The style of the drawings is that of the later period.

The manuscript follows a model of the type used by P1 and Le1.

4

(Lo1) London, British Museum. Add. Ms. No. 24199.
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the eleventh century, possibly from Bury St. Edmunds.
Figure 60.
Stettiner, pp. 23–27, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 35, 37–42, 49–66.
Sir E. Maunde Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1895), p. 19.
E. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.
J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), p. 111.

The line drawings for the *Psychomachia* are executed in green, red, violet, blue, and light brown. At least three hands are to be distinguished in the drawings, although the under-drawing was probably completed by one hand.

On fol. 2 is what appears to be an old library mark which James suggests is that of the Library of Bury St. Edmunds.[2] The style of the drawings is that of the middle of the eleventh century. Thompson suggests that the manuscript is a copy of Anglo-Saxon work made on the Continent.[3] Its style is similar to that of the Cambridge Prudentius, but the lines are less free and more elaborate.

5

(Lo2) London, British Museum. Cotton Ms. Cleopatra C. VIII.
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the first half of the eleventh century.
Stettiner, pp. 28–31, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 36, 43–46, 49–66.
British Museum Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, Series I (London, 1910), Pl. VII.
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21. Pl. XXVI.
J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1912), p. 112.

The line drawings are executed in black and red, with an occasional use of green, and once of blue. Two hands can be distinguished in the drawings. There is nothing in the manuscript to indicate its exact place of origin.

[1] Birch, in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXVII (1871), 320.
[2] *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, VII, 53.
[3] E. M. Thompson, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1895), p. 19.

6

(M) Munich, Stadtbibliothek, clm. 29031 b.
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the tenth century. *Figure* 120.
Stettiner, p. 32; *Tafeln* 47, 48.

The extant portion of the *Psychomachia*, v. 13–18, is only a single page of vellum which for many years was used as a wrapper for documents kept in the Archives. The ink of both text and illustration has almost disappeared from the outside of the sheet, but the inside still retains its text, glosses and two drawings. Both the glosses and the style of the illustrations indicate that the manuscript was executed in England.

Manuscripts of Group II

1

(Le2) Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek. Codex Burmannorum Q. 3.
North French mansucript of the late ninth century, related to the School of Reims. *Figures* 43, 45, 47, 50, 65, 66, 68, 73, 78, 83, 100, 125.
Stettiner, pp. 33–37, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 67, 69, 71, 73, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 105, 107.
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

The manuscript is said to have come from the Monastery of Egmond, north of Utrecht. The tradition, however, goes back only to Gruter (1560–1627), one of the owners of the manuscript. The style of the illuminations does not resemble that of Egmond, a foundation of little importance in the ninth century. A more extensive discussion of this manuscript will be given later.

2

(P2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 8085.
French manuscript of the late ninth century, related to the School of Reims. *Figures* 26, 49, 52, 63, 67, 74, 103, 124.
Stettiner, pp. 38–42, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 75, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 103, 108.
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

This manuscript will be discussed later.

3

(B1) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 9987–91.
North French or Belgian manuscript of the tenth century, possibly from Valenciennes. *Figures* 23, 88.
Stettiner, pp. 43–46, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 68, 70, 72, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 102, 105–107.
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

16. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10791.
St. Augustine. 11th century

17. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be).
Romanus denounced by the Prefect

18. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2).
Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*

19. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,
Ms. Phil. 1832. Middle Rhine.
10th century. *Orion*

20. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale,
Ms. 10066–77 (B2). *Physiologus*,
Nycticorax (detail)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

The glosses which were added to the *Psychomachia* in the eleventh century in a German dialect have led Steinmeyer to the conclusion that the manuscript was in a monastery in the region of the river Maas at the time the glosses were entered.[1] A fuller discussion of the manuscript will be given later.

4

(V) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Publique. Ms. No. 563.
French manuscript of the early eleventh century, from the Monastery of St. Amand near Valenciennes.
Stettiner, pp. 47–51, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 76, 78, 81, 82, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 104, 106, 108.
W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6.

This manuscript will be discussed later.

5

(Ly) Lyons, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts.
French manuscript of the eleventh century. *Figures* 38, 75, 79, 80, 81, 87, 98, 106, 112.
Stettiner, pp. 55–60, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 109–126.
Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), p. 173, *Taf.* 150.

The illuminator of the *Psychomachia* has elaborated on the usual iconography of the scenes, adding figures and attributes that do not usually appear in the illustrations. He has also been careful to make the costumes consistent throughout, and in one case has divided a single episode into two scenes.

The manuscript came from the collection of Pierre Adamoli (1707–1769), merchant in Lyons.

6

(P3) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 18554.
German manuscript of the tenth century, from the Middle or Lower Rhine.
Stettiner, pp. 52–54, and bibliography; *Tafel* 128.

The dialect of the German glosses and three of the four illustrations in the manuscript point to the region of the Lower or Middle Rhine as the place of origin.

7

(B2) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 10066–77.
Belgian manuscript of the tenth century, from the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège. *Figures* 18, 20, 71, 86, 95, 99, 108, 110, 111.
Stettiner, pp. 61–69, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 167, 169–176.

The manuscript contains, in addition to the writings of Prudentius, an illustrated *Physiologus*. The style of the drawings in the *Psychomachia* and the

[1] E. Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 572–574; Id., in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVI (1873), 1, 2, 92–95.

Physiologus is the same, but some of the *Psychomachia* illustrations have been redrawn, probably in the eleventh century, by two different hands, one more skilled than the other. The actual style has, however, not been changed (cf. Figs. 20, 95).

On fol. 4 appears the following notice in a hand of the fifteenth century: *Sancti Laurentii prope Leodium.* In the eighteenth century the manuscript was in the library of the Dukes of Burgundy, and thence passed into the library at Brussels. The two extant catalogues of the library of St. Lawrence, dating from the thirteenth century, do not mention a Prudentius.[1] There is, however, in the library at Brussels another manuscript from St. Lawrence which offers points for comparison.[2] This manuscript of the eleventh century contains the writings of St. Augustine, and on fol. 2, a drawing of the Saint and an angel. When the angel is compared with the figure of Prudentius at prayer (Figs. 16, 18) a community of style is seen in the manner in which the drapery is caught up behind the knees, the shading by fine parallel lines both on the drapery and the hair, the accents on the fingers, particularly of St. Augustine, and the stress upon the line patterns. The rendering of the features of the face is different, but when it is remembered that there is about a century between the two manuscripts in point of time, the greater emphasis upon the line pattern in the later manuscript is not surprising.

8

(B3) Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. No. 9968–72.
Belgian manuscript of the eleventh century, formerly in the Library of St. Maximinus at Trier, probably executed at the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège. *Figures* 22, 25, 61, 70, 96, 102, 105.
Stettiner, pp. 123–130 and bibliography; *Tafeln* 168, 179–186.
Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e Siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 23.

The manuscript was at one time in the Jesuit Library at Antwerp. On fol. 116 the following notice is found in a hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century: *Codex monasterii sancti maximini extra muros treverorum; si quis abstulerit Anathema sit.* The old catalogue of St. Maximinus does not mention the Prudentius manuscript,[3] but the catalogue itself has now disappeared, and there is doubt as to its date. The catalogue may have been compiled earlier than the writing of the Prudentius.

Four hands are distinguishable in the drawings of the *Psychomachia*. The first hand, that of the original illuminator, can be seen in the drawings to fol. 82. These are strikingly close to those in a Belgian manuscript of the late tenth or early eleventh century from the Abbey of St. Lawrence at Liège, now

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 69. [2] Brussels, Bibl. Roy. Ms. No. 10791.
[3] Published by G. H. Becker in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), pp. 178 f.

21. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. *Evangelary. St. Matthew.* From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century

24. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 5573. *Evangelary. Holy Women at Sepulchre.* From St. Lawrence, Liège. 11th century

22. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido*

25. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (13), *Pudicitia strikes Libido with a sword*

23. Leyden, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9987–91 (B1). Scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime*

26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime* (Stettiner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

in Brussels[1] (cf. Figs. 21, 22, 24, 25). The same unsure and labored line has been used in both, the features are very similar, the armor is the same, the drapery displays a similar flare and is accented in the same way.

The second hand has not changed the style but has noticeably straightened the lines. The third and fourth hands are later in date and will be discussed later.

9

(Be) Bern, Stadtbibliothek. Ms. No. 264.
South German or Swiss manuscript of the first half of the tenth century, related to St. Gall and Reichenau. *Figures* 17, 27, 35, 42, 43, 54, 72, 77, 89, 92, 94, 101, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119.
Stettiner, pp. 70–173, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 129–164.
Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, Leipzig, 1912.

On fol. 1v. is the following inscription: *Bongarsii ab Ill^mo Principe Domino Frid. Casimiro Comiti Palatino ad Rhenum Bipontino Gr* (?). The manuscript came into the possession of René Gravisset of Strasbourg with other manuscripts from the collection of Bongars.[2] Jacob Bongars, born in 1554 near Orléans, was for many years a merchant in Strasbourg. Friedrich Casimir, born 1585, inherited the land and castle of Moschelandsberg from his father Johann I of Pfalz-Zweibrücken.[3] Jacob Gravisset, the son of René, presented the manuscript to the city of Bern.[4] Grandidier has suggested that the manuscript came into the possession of the Pfalzgraf Johann as a gift from the heads of the cathedral at the time of the settlement of the Catholic and Protestant controversy.[5] The earlier history of the manuscript is not known.

The manuscript contains, in addition to the illustrations of the *Psychomachia*, a few illustrations to the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon IX* in a hand similar to, but not identical with, the hand which executed the *Psychomachia* drawings. While the *Psychomachia* drawings have been painted throughout, the others have only an occasional wash of green or red, different in tone from the green and red in the *Psychomachia*. In *Peristephanon X*, a third hand has executed drawings in a distinctly different and later style, probably of the late tenth or early eleventh century (Fig. 17).[6] These later drawings have been covered with a wash, chiefly green, blue, red, and lavender, which somewhat obscures the lines beneath. Stettiner recognizes only two hands at work, believing One and Two to be identical.

On stylistic grounds Stettiner ascribes the manuscript to St. Gall. He compares the first and second hands with manuscript No. 64 in the Stiftsbiblio-

[1] Bibl. Roy. Ms. No. 5573.
[2] Hermann Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarsius*, Bern, 1874.
[3] L. Häusser, *Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz* (Heidelberg, 1845), II, 741.
[4] H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Bern, 1875), pp. xx ff.
[5] *Histoire ecclésiastique de la province d'Alsace* (Strassburg, 1787), I, ccvi; *Histoire de l'Église de Strasbourg* (Strassburg, 1776), I, 316, note.
[6] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 157–163.

thek, which contains a line drawing representing St. Paul and the Jews (cf. Figs. 27, 29). The style of this drawing certainly has points of similarity with the Prudentius and particularly with Hand Two. Manuscript No. 876 in the same library he also brings into comparison, but the similarity is decidedly less marked here.[1] The scene of a teacher and group of students in the *Passio Cassiani* he compares with a scene of the same subject in the Folchart Psalter.[2] The style of the initial letters and the full-page decorations he believes are also in the style of St. Gall. The old catalogue of the library mentions a Prudentius which Stettiner considers to be the manuscript in question, and so he dates it between 863 and 880, during the abbacy of Grimald and Hartmut. He further attempts to show that the manuscript was obtained from St. Gall by Bishop Erchenbald of Strasbourg on his return trip from Italy in the tenth century.

Merton [3] is of the opinion that the manuscript was not written in St. Gall, but rather in some closely connected foundation where a strong current of influence from Reichenau was also felt. Of the three hands at work he connects only Hand Two with the St. Paul drawing in Ms. No. 64, but admits that the color used by this hand is unlike anything in St. Gall. He suggests therefore, that the hand was trained in St. Gall but active elsewhere. The character of the writing is of the tenth century rather than the ninth, and possesses none of the outstanding peculiarities of St. Gall script at this period. The initial ornament is, however, related to St. Gall, and must have been executed within its sphere of influence, though tempered by the style of Reichenau.[4] The figure style of St. Gall in the tenth century was far removed from that of the Bern manuscript, so that the notice in the catalogue of the library, used as evidence for attribution by Stettiner, cannot refer to the present manuscript.[5]

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 166.

[2] St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., Ms. No. 23; F. Landsberger, *Der St. Galler Folchart-psalter* (St. Gall, 1912), *Abb.* 26.

[3] Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 61.

[4] Compare with the Lectionary in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Merton, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXIX.

[5] No more definite placing of the manuscript than that made by Merton is possible until more is known of the different schools of southern Germany and the Upper Rhine. Certain new comparisons can, however, be indicated. The very close stylistic relation of the Bern Prudentius to the St. Gall manuscript No. 64 is admitted. But No. 64 is the only manuscript in exactly this style now in St. Gall, and none of the manuscripts attributed to the scriptorium by Merton is exactly comparable (Fig. 29). (See Merton, *op. cit.*, for reproductions of other manuscripts.) Further, there are many initial letters in No. 64 which are not of the pure St. Gall type (Figs. 33, 34). On the recto of the folio containing the St. Paul drawing the following saints are mentioned, which, with their dates of celebration, do not conform with the St. Gall calendars published by Merton:

iiii. non. Ian. S. Theogenis. m.
xi. k. Feb. Nat. Sci. Gaudentii epi. &c.
vii. id. Ian. Nat. f. Iuliani diaconi &c.
ii. k. Feb. Dep. S. Iulii pri. &c.
k. Iun. Passio Gratiniani & filini m.
xvii. k. Aug. N. Sci. Quirici & Julittae matris ei.

No. 64 may, therefore, have been an importation to St. Gall.

27. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs*

28. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438.
Wandalbertus' Calendar, November
(Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)

29. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64.
St. Paul and the Jews. 10th century
(Phot. Baumgartner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

10

(K) Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. No. 81.
Manuscript of the tenth century, from Lower Germany(?) *Figures* 115, 118. Stettiner, pp. 118–122, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 187, 188, 190.

Before the *Psychomachia* appears the *Hamartigenia*, at the end of which is a symbolic account of priestly offices followed by a list of names of cities with German translations. Among the cities is *Zurzach*, a small place in Switzerland. The same list of cities is found in a Swiss manuscript containing the writings of Prudentius and now in the library at Zurich.[1] Stettiner believes that in spite of the probably Allemanian source of the manuscript, it was actually written in Lower Germany because of the dialect of the glosses which are by the same hand as the text.

Some of the German and Latin glosses in the manuscript are like those that were added to the manuscript B1 in the eleventh century. Steinmeyer noted the similarity and suggested that archetypes with an ultimate common origin had been used.[2] Stettiner connects the manuscripts even more closely, and

A manuscript in Rome (Bibl. Vat., Reg. lat. 438) containing the metrical calendar written by Wandalbertus for the Abbey of Prüm, is illustrated with drawings of the Months in a style similar to, if not identical with, that of the *Psychomachia* drawings in the Bern Prudentius (cf. Figs. 27, 28, 30). Compare the rendering of the profiles, the eyebrow lines, the additional lines between the eye and brow, the treatment of the drapery, the hands, feet and legs. In Figs. 32 and 35 the curious little fold or loop where the edge of the drapery turns over should be noted. (This manuscript was published by A. Riegl, *Die mittelalterliche Kalenderillustration*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. X [1889], with one reproduction.) Wandalbertus died about the middle of the ninth century. Since the calendar which is the theme of the poem is peculiar to Prüm, it would be strange to find it written and illuminated at any place other than Prüm. Little is known of the style of this scriptorium, since most of the manuscripts were destroyed there by fire. The late tenth century Troper from Prüm (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9448) has a general similarity to the Wandalbertus and to the Bern Prudentius in the proportion of the figures, their movement, and in the treatment of the drapery (cf. Figs. 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 134). Braun considered the likeness close enough to call the Wandalbertus a Prüm product (E. W. Braun, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Trierer Buchmalerei im früheren Mittelalter*, Trier, 1896, p. 87). There are also two ivory caskets of the tenth century, one in the Treasury of the Abbey Church at Quedlinburg, the other in the National Museum at Munich (Kat., V, 175), which have been attributed to Prüm because of their stylistic likeness to the Troper by Vöge (*Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, 1900–1902) and by Creutz (*Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst*, 1908, pp. 202 ff.) The caskets are decorated with figures of the Apostles under arcades, and the tops of the arches are filled with the twelve signs of the Zodiac not unlike the signs which appear in the Wandalbertus.

The drawings executed by Hand Three in the Bern Prudentius recall work originating along the Middle Rhine. Several drawings of a manuscript now in Berlin (Staatsbibl., Phil., 1832) from the library of St. Vincent at Metz, and dated in the tenth century by Kirchner (*Beschreibende Verzeichnisse der Miniaturen-Hss. der preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Leipzig, 1926) are close to Hand Three in treatment of features, drapery and general style (cf. Figs. 17, 19). The style of Hand Three can also be compared with the Brussels Prudentius B2, although exact points of similarity cannot be indicated (cf. Figs. 17, 20). It seems fairly certain that Hand Three was not working in St. Gall.

Prüm was certainly of considerable importance during the ninth and tenth centuries as is shown by the numerous documentary notices referring to the place. (For a discussion of Prüm see S. Beissel, *Miniaturen aus Prüm*, in *Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst*, Jg. 19, pp. 11 ff., 43 ff.) Prüm fell within the artistic circle of Trier, Echternach and Metz, and was located on the direct road between Trier and Liège. (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, 1.) Since the two manuscripts B2 and B3, which are closely connected with the Bern Prudentius, were written and illuminated in Liège, and B3 found its way to Trier, the situation of Prüm invites speculation.

[1] Cantonalbibl., Ms. C. 164. [2] *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XVI (1873), 8 f.

believes that at some time in the eleventh century B1 and the archetype of the Cologne manuscript were in the same scriptorium in the Maas region, and that the glosses were copied into B1, and a few of the illustrations gone over, using this archetype as model. At the same time and in the same place, the scene of *Abraham and the Angels* was added to the Cologne manuscript in the style of the reworked miniatures in B1. This community of style, however, between the eleventh century drawing in the Cologne manuscript and the redrawn scenes in B1 is not convincing.

11

(H) Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.
Manuscript of the tenth century, from southwest Germany(?).
Stettiner, *Tafelband*, p. 18; *Tafel* 127.

The manuscript came from the collection of Mr. Sayle in Cambridge to the Hamburg Museum in 1905. It now consists of only a single page which for some time must have served as a wrapper for documents. The two drawings of Superbia are close to those in the Bern Prudentius.

The following three manuscripts lie somewhat outside of the general classification. They exhibit features characteristic of both Groups I and II, and yet cannot be considered a group in themselves, since the borrowed elements do not correspond in the three manuscripts.

1

(G) St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek. Ms. No. 135.
Manuscript of the eleventh century from St. Gall. *Figures* 107, 129.
Stettiner, pp. 131–137, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 189, 191, 192.
Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 62, 67 ff. Pls. LXV, LXVI.

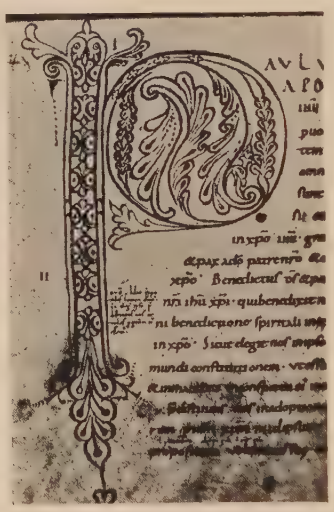
The *Psychomachia* was first written and then illustrated. It is evident that the scribe was not copying from an illustrated manuscript, since he left spaces only between the different chapters into which many of the unillustrated copies are divided. Consequently there are not the requisite number of spaces to contain the complete series of illustrations. The illuminator was obliged to select, condense and combine the scenes so that one illustration often embodies several episodes (Fig. 107).

The iconography of the scenes is derived from a manuscript of the Group II class, the attitudes particularly resembling the manuscript B3. The Vices, however, are not represented in flame-skirts, and the Virtues are not depicted as warriors. A manuscript of the Group I class must, therefore, have served as model for the costumes. Stettiner has pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon man-

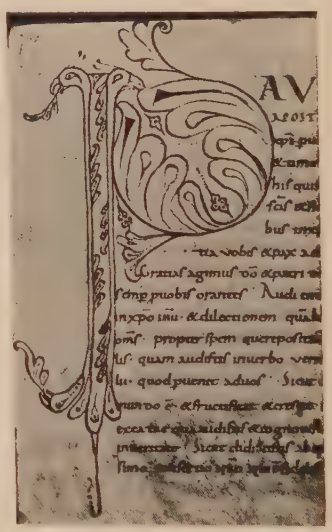
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

30. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438.
Wandalbertus' Calendar, August
(Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)

32. Rome, Vatican Library, Regina lat. 438.
Wandalbertus' Calendar, April
(Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



33. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64



34. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 64

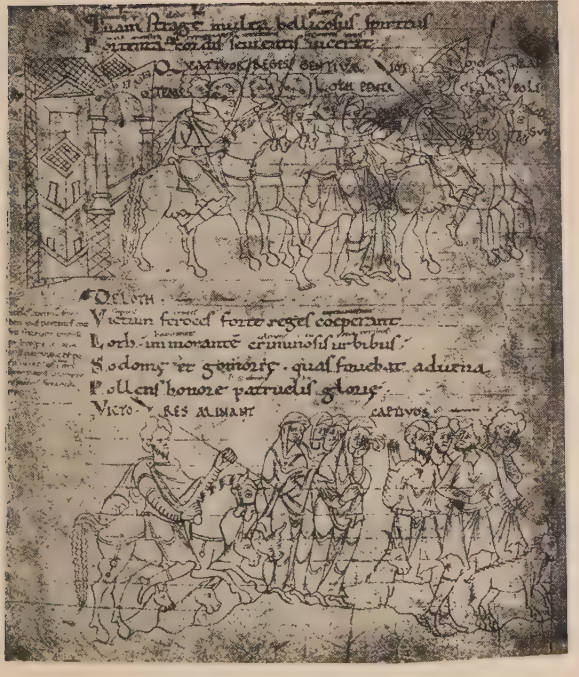
31. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448.
Troper of Prüm. 10th century

35. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (32), *Superbia rides down Humilitas and Spes* (Phot. Völliger)

36. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (Pl). Scene (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*

37. Cairo, Museum. Relief (Dalton)

39. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8313 (P1). *Superbia and Humilitas* (Stettiner)



38. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings; The captives* (Stettiner)

40. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* (Stettiner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

uscripts, Lo1, Lo2 and Lo3 have certain points with regard to chapter headings, spaces left, and placing of scenes in common with the St. Gall manuscript.

The Prudentius was certainly written and illuminated in St. Gall, and belongs with a series of manuscripts dating from about 1022–1034 which have been published by Merton. The closest parallel in style is furnished by Ms. No. 367.[1]

2

(Lo3) London, British Museum. Cotton Ms. Titus D. XVI.
Anglo-Saxon manuscript of about 1100, from St. Albans.
Stettiner, pp. 138–143, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 193–196.
British Museum Schools of Illumination, vol. II, Pl. 1.
E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1926), p. 21.

On folios 2, 36v. and 37 are notices of the thirteenth to sixteenth century concerning the previous location of the manuscript: *Hic est liber Sancti Albani quem qui ei abstulerit vel tytulum deleverit anathema sit.* Goldschmidt has definitely established the origin of the manuscript in St. Albans and dated it in the last years of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth.[2]

3

(P4) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. lat. 15158.
French Gothic manuscript, dated 1298, from the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris.
Figures 123, 126.
Stettiner, pp. 144–148, and bibliography; *Tafeln* 197–200.

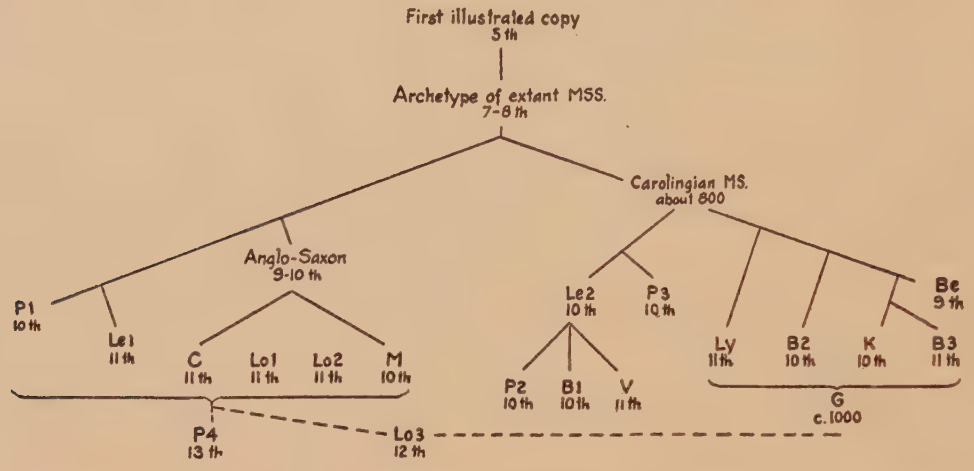
On fol. 16v. is the following notice: *Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octagesimo nono perfectus est iste liber a Iohanne dicto de Curia cui senatus angelici post cursum vite sue sanctorumque martyrum confessorum, martyrum virginum, patriarcharum celestiumque omnium concedantur.* Iohannes de Curia is not known. The manuscript came to the Bibliothèque from the Abbey of St. Victor. That the manuscript was written there cannot be concluded with certainty. Stettiner points out as evidence that it was illuminated in a religious foundation the fact that the Virtues are represented in nun's habit, the Vices in citizen's garments, and that before verse 501 is the scene of Ratio protecting the priests from Avaritia, in which Ratio is represented as a monk.

Stettiner offers the stemma given below as a summary indication of what he considers the essential relation between the extant manuscripts and their derivation from the original archetype.[3]

From the first illustrated copy of the fifth century is derived a second of the seventh to the eighth century which served as the archetype of all the extant

[1] Merton, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXV.
[2] Adolf Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 41 f.
[3] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–202.

manuscripts. The argument for this supposed reworking rests in part on the following facts. (*a*) In almost all of the manuscripts certain errors appear, as the representation of five kings instead of the biblical four in the scene of *Lot captured from Sodom;* a marginal gloss which explains this scene in some of the manuscripts compares the five kings with the five natures of man, and appears to have been taken from Isidore of Seville's (died 637) commentary on the book of Genesis. (*b*) Ira kills herself with a sword in the illustrations of the two manuscripts which Stettiner considers closest to the original instead of with the *missile* mentioned in the text. (*c*) There is a lack of consistency in

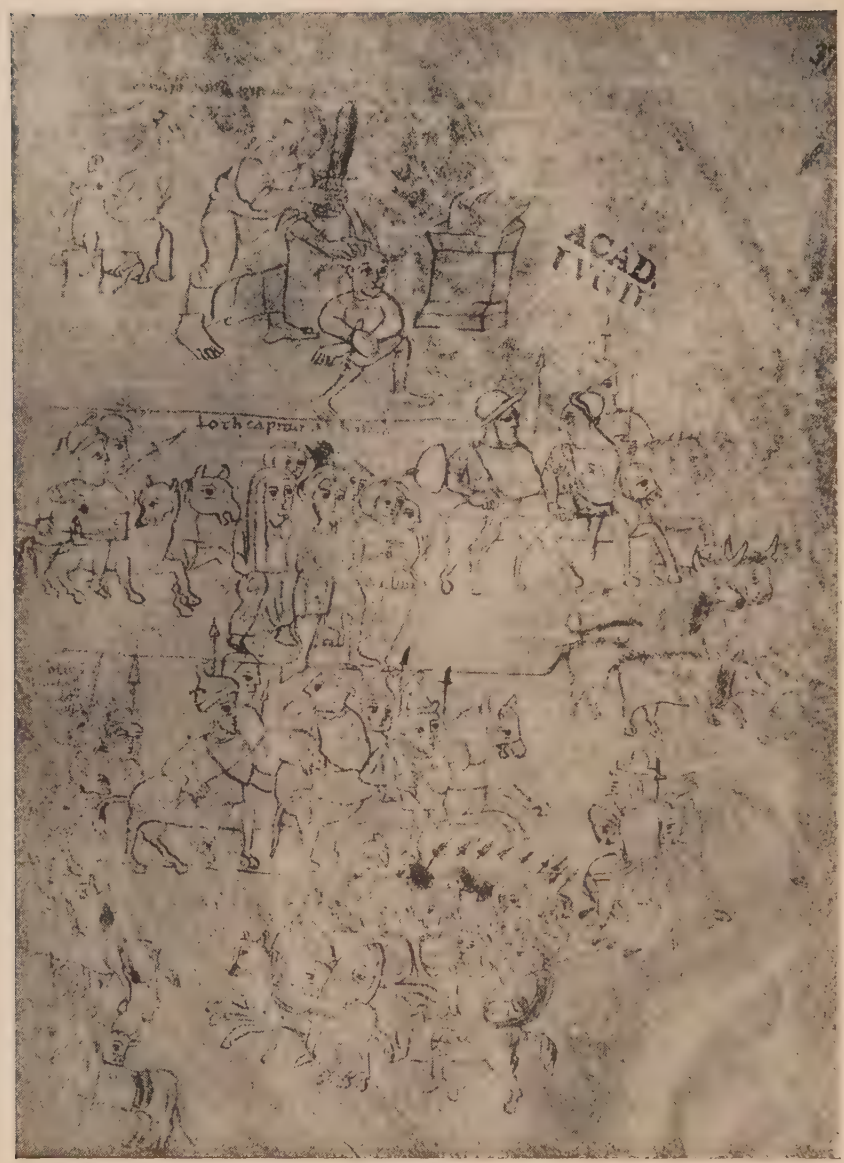


the costume used for a specific figure in the various scenes relating to a single episode. (*d*) The title inscriptions which accompany the illustrations do not conform with the description in the text in every case, as when Spes instead of Humilitas is mentioned as flying to heaven.

The manuscripts of Group I are on the left side of the stemma. Stettiner places P1 on the direct line of development from the archetype of the seventh century because its figure style, the architecture represented, the costumes of the figures, and the groupings resemble examples of earlier art (e. g., the *Vatican Virgil*) more than do any of the other manuscripts. Le1 is close to P1, but is a little further removed from the archetype than P1 in the scene of *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*, which Stettiner believes introduces a change. Branching from the same line to the archetype is an Anglo-Saxon version of the illustrations from which are derived the manuscripts Lo1 and C, and Lo2 and M.

The right hand side of the stemma shows the relation of the manuscripts of Group II to the archetype of the seventh century. A Carolingian reworking of the illustrations about the year 800 is assumed. The antique style was lost in this model, and costumes and arrangement of scenes characteristic of the

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY



41. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1).
Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac;* (2), *Lot captured by the kings;*
(3) *Abraham rescues Lot;* (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*
(Phot. Rameau)

42. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be).
Scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings*

period were substituted for the originals. Directly from this ninth century model the manuscript Le2 was derived, and from Le2, the manuscripts P2, B1 and V were copied. P3, which contains only four drawings but complete text and title inscriptions, is related to the Carolingian model along the same line as Le2.

At the end of the direct line from the seventh century archetype, and through the Carolingian model, lies the manuscript Be. At intermediate points appear Ly, B2, K and B3, all introducing some changes and modifications. The manuscript G contains a condensation of the scenes with inspiration drawn from several sources toward the Be end of the development.

P4, a thirteenth century manuscript belonging to Group I, is represented on the stemma as embracing the entire earlier development in Group I, and as receiving an additional influence from Group II. The line of influence from Group II is seen to have passed through Lo3, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the twelfth century, on its way to the model from which P4 is taken.

The manuscripts of Group I are French and Anglo-Saxon; those of Group II have their home along the Rhine and in the Meuse valley.[1] It will be noted that the dates of the manuscripts as given by Stettiner do not in every case accord with the dates in the discussion of the manuscripts given above. This stemma should be compared with the one below. The chief differences lie in the development of Group I from the archetype *B*, Group II directly from *A*, the placing of Le1 instead of P1 on the direct line of development from the archetype, the introduction of several lost intermediate models into Group II at which Stettiner only hints,[2] the influence of Group I in Group II, and finally the coming together of the two groups which determines the placing of P4 and Lo3.

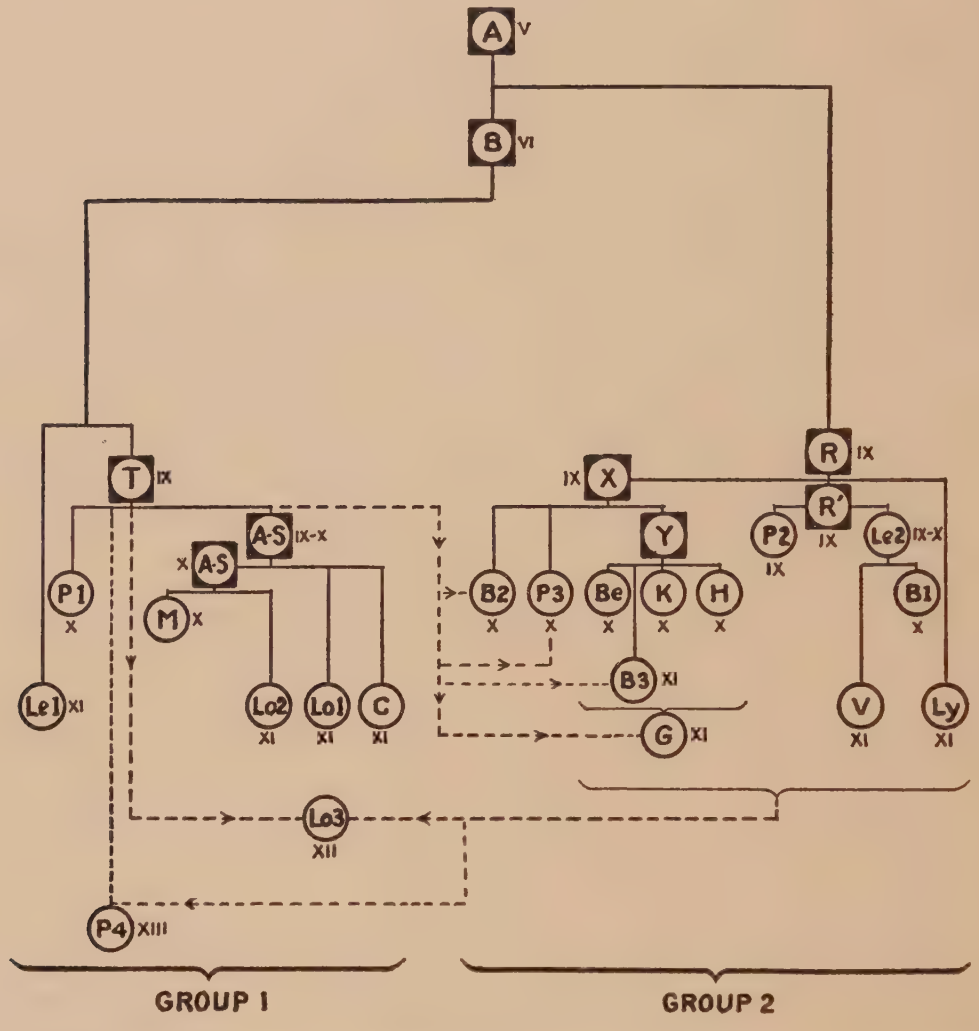
The explanation of the hypothetical model *T* in Group I lies in scene (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*. Le1 shows Fides in a garment which bares the upper half of the figure and indicates the breasts. P1, on the other hand, represents Fides in a long garment covering the entire body (cf. Figs. 36, 104). That the original archetype represented Fides with shoulders and breast bare is evident from the fact that the entire Group II shows Fides clothed in this manner, and from the natural interpretation of the text which describes Fides as *nuda humeros*. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts follow P1, thus indicating that the Anglo-Saxon group developed after the change was made. An illustrated *Psychomachia* of the P1 type had come to the notice of the hand which executed Le1 at some time during his activity, though not necessarily at the time he made the drawings to accompany his text, for to the end of the volume containing the *Psychomachia* several extra pages of rough sketches are bound, among the sketches a *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* with the Fides

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

as in P1, the calf standing beside the altar, and the two heads on the altar omitted (cf. Figs. 36, 40, 104).

The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Lo1, Lo2, C and M have many points in common, as attitudes, costumes, attributes and lack of armor, so that they must have derived from a common model executed in the style of Winchester. The characteristic folds of the drapery particularly point to such a

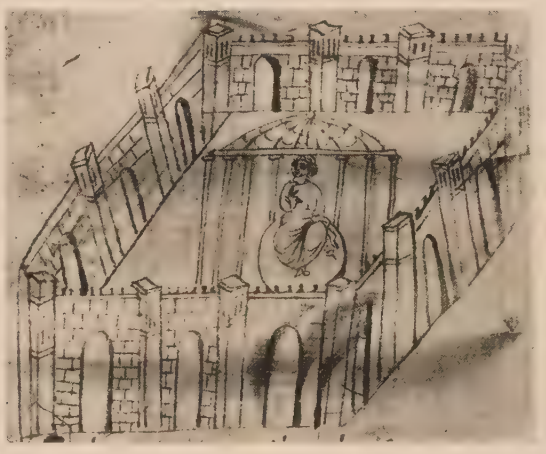


model. This model has been designated as *A–S* on the stemma. In this group, M and Lo2 show a common source in scene (9), *Cultura Deorum conquered by Fides*. Here a calf is seen hurled through the air from a falling altar (Fig. 120). The falling altar is not contained in Lo1 and C. Further comparison is impossible since M is only a fragment containing three drawings. The model *A–S* has been introduced to explain the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon

43. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2).
Scene (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs*

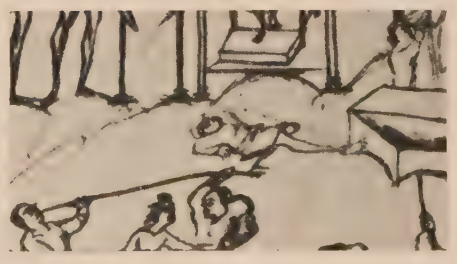
46. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 11v (detail)
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)

44. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV.
Utrecht Psalter, fol. 3 (detail)
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)



47. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (89), *Sapientia seated in the temple*

45. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2).
Scene (12), *Pudicitia disarms Libido*



48. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 7v (detail)
(Pal. Soc. Facs.)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

49. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac;* (2), *Lot captured by the kings* (Stettiner)

50. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings;* (3), *Abraham rescues Lot*

51. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 30v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

52. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (30), *Superbia rides spirited horse*

53. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 5 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

development. In scene (79), *Discordia seized by Concordia*, P1 has three figures at the right of the picture, while the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have four, and Le1 has five. This may indicate that the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are closer to Le1, and hence to the original than P1.

There is no definite way of knowing where the model *T* was made. The most important center for illumination in central France during the ninth century was Tours. It has been shown that P1 was probably written in this center. Tours and England were in close relation through the connection of Alcuin, and a copy of the Prudentius could easily have found its way to York or Winchester from Tours. The model has been lettered *T* on the possibility of an origin in the scriptorium of Tours.

The distinguishing characteristics of the manuscripts of Group II which allow them to be thus grouped must have originated in a special reworking of the archetype. The reworked model has been designated as *R*. A comparison of the manuscripts of Group II with the Utrecht Psalter and other manuscripts of the school of Reims throws light on the character and date of *R*.

Outstanding is the scene of *Fides crowning the martyrs*, which finds an almost exact parallel on fol. 3 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 27, 43, 44). The attitudes, costumes and palms of the martyrs are particularly close. Superbia riding her spirited horse is closely approached by a figure on fol. 5 (cf. Figs. 52, 53). The foreshortening of the horse, the drawing of its tail, and of the mantle and its flying fold should be noted. A striking similarity is found between the scene of *Lot captured by the kings* and the four mounted figures on fol. 30 (cf. Figs. 50, 51).

The earliest representation of demons with flying hair and flame-skirt is, I believe, in the Psalter. The flame-skirt should not be confused with the tunic which is tucked up under the belt making it hang in three sections, of which there are examples in the Psalter, the Ashburnham Pentateuch[1] and other manuscripts. As the distinguishing characteristic of demons its appearance in the Utrecht Psalter is important. A comparison of Figs. 54 and 56 will show the close relation.

Armed figures of victorious warriors are abundant throughout the Psalter, and can be compared with the armed Virtues of the Prudentius (cf. Figs. 54, 55, 58). Several close parallels in attitudes can be selected from the manuscripts (cf. Figs. 45, 48).

One of the most characteristic and frequently occurring arrangements in the Psalter is that of a warrior surrounded by the enemy in the act of throwing various weapons from nearby hills. Just such a scene has been introduced into the Prudentius in scene (17) of *Patientia undaunted by the Vices* (cf. Figs.

[1] Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. acq. 2334; O. von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1883.

54, 57). A comparison with Le1 will show how essentially this scene has been changed to accord with the northern spirit of the time (Fig. 82). Another arrangement of this kind is found in the battle scene (84), where *Caritas assembles her men.* It compares with fol. 15 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 59, 63), where the tents are placed on both sides of the picture, the figures placed before the tents, and the center of the composition filled by the building and its figures. The Logos seated upon a globe, which appears on many of the folios of the Psalter, has been used in the Prudentius for Sapientia seated in the temple (cf. Figs. 46, 47).

The types of cities surrounded by a wall should be compared in the Psalter and the Prudentius manuscripts, and the manner of shading particularly noted (cf. Figs. 47, 55, 64). The northern drinking horn has been substituted for the goblet in the scene of *Luxuria feasting* and is comparable to the horns used in the Psalter[1] (cf. Figs. 62, 67). The figure of Spes flying to heaven finds a close parallel on fol. 3 of the Psalter (cf. Figs. 44, 65).

Tikkanen noted a similarity between the Bern Prudentius and the Utrecht Psalter.[2] The close relation is, however, much more convincing when the Leyden manuscript Le2 is used for comparison. Here the style of the line drawings is maintained throughout (cf. Figs. 43–48). It cannot be far removed from the period and milieu of the Psalter. The dependence of the entire Group II upon such a model will be made clear in the following discussion. The archetype *R* must have been a manuscript of the ninth century, executed in northeastern France, presumably in the school of Reims. The importance of Reims in this period warrants the supposition of a reworking of such a universally popular writing as the *Psychomachia* and its illustrations within the scriptorium. A similar reworking was the lot of the illustrations of the Comedies of Terence; from the same archetype is derived the *Ambrosian Terence*[3] with miniatures in a style resembling the Prudentius drawings in Le1 of Group I, and the *Parisinus*[4] whose illustrations are in a manner close to those of the Utrecht Psalter.[5]

Stettiner has grouped around the manuscript Le2 the three similar manu-

[1] The figure in the Utrecht Psalter of the attendant holding the drinking horn and supporting a pitcher upon a stand should be compared with the Anglo-Saxon rendering of the scene of *Luxuria feasting* (cf. Figs. 60, 62). It will be noticed that the attendant in the Anglo-Saxon illumination holds the pitcher upon the stand, but that he extends a goblet toward Luxuria instead of the drinking horn. The goblet has been retained from the archetype (cf. Figs. 60, 109). The drinking horn was, however, familiar to Anglo-Saxon illuminators as is seen in an eleventh century manuscript containing scenes of the Months (British Museum, Cotton, Jul. A. VI, fol. 4v.) executed in the characteristic style of Winchester. The motive had probably been introduced into England through copies of the Utrecht Psalter.

[2] *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter,* in *Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae* (Helsingfors, 1903), vol. 31, pt. 2.

[3] Milan, Bibl. Laurentiana, lat. H. 75, inf.

[4] Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 7899.

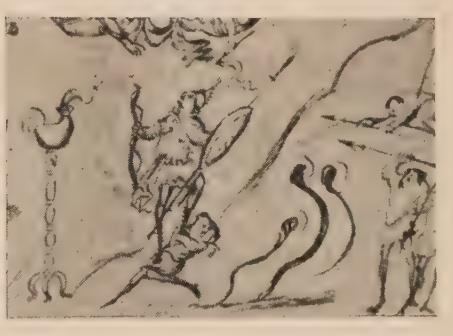
[5] C. R. Morey, *I Miniatori del Terenzio illustrato della Biblioteca Vaticana,* in *Rendiconti della Ponteficia Accademia Romana di Archeologia,* IV (1926), 26 ff.; Leslie W. Jones, *The Archetypes of the Terence Miniatures, Art Bulletin,* X (1927), 103 ff.

54. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword;* (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices*

56. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 79v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

57. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 4 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

55. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 13v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)



58. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 9 (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

scripts, P2, B1 and V, which he claims are copies of Le2 executed at different dates, and probably in different places. The evidence which he gives for this conclusion is briefly as follows:[1]

If the miniatures in Le2, on folios 139 to 141 inclusive, are numbered consecutively from verse 551 to verse 636 as I, II, III, etc., the corresponding miniatures in P2 will be found to fall in the order I, III, IV, V, VI, II, XI, XII, XIII, VII, VIII, IX, X, XIV. When the two double folios 138/141 and 139/140 are reversed, that is, 139 to precede 138, the miniatures will fall in the order in which they occur in P2 as indicated above. The texts of the two manuscripts are almost identical, the iconography of the scenes is the same, with a few exceptions, and although the styles are very different, in that Le2 contains line drawings throughout, while P2 contains fully painted figures, and although the title inscriptions accompanying each picture seldom agree in the two manuscripts, Stettiner, nevertheless, concludes that P2 is a copy of Le2 which at some time must have been incorrectly bound. He dates both of the manuscripts in the tenth century.[2] The differences in style, iconography and titles he accounts for by supposing that the preliminary sketches in P2, which had been made from Le2, were finished, or at least painted, with the aid of a second Prudentius manuscript which also supplied the titles.

Stettiner's proof is further strengthened by the confusion in the manuscripts B1 of the tenth century and V of the eleventh. The pictures and text of B1 were copied page by page from Le2 with almost no variation. When the gathering in Le2 containing the misplaced leaves, indicated in the discussion of P2 above, was reached, the following disorder resulted:

B1 fol. 114	Verses 464–490	Le2 fol. 137
" 116	" 551–575	" 139
" (now cut out)		" 138
" 117	Verses 602–638	" 141
" 118	" 576–601	" 140
" 119	" 638–666	" 142

The page now removed, which corresponded with fol. 138 of Le2, contained only one miniature. In the eleventh century the disorder was noticed, the page taken out, and a new page containing verses 491–550, but without illustration, and in a hand of the eleventh century, was inserted as fol. 115, thus making the order of the text correct through fol. 116. No attempt was made to correct the manuscript further except by the addition of marginal notes on fols. 117v. and 118v.

The manuscript V was also corrected a century after it was made. The fourth gathering contains folios 25–32 and verses 476–664. Five of the pages,

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–51.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 42.

folios 26–30, were cut out and others inserted, written in a twelfth century hand, and the spaces for illustrations left but not filled. The present arrangement can be seen in the following table:

Fol. 25	old	Verses	476–489
" 26	new	"	490–543
" 27	new	"	544–563
" 28	new	"	564–583
" 29	new	"	584–595 and 604–611
" 30	new	"	612–638
" 31	old	"	596–601 and 639–643
" 32	old	"	644–664

The two missing lines, verses 602 and 603, are found on fol. 31v. in the free space left above the miniature preceding verse 636, and are by the same hand as the original text. This suggests that the scribe first noticed his mistake at this point. The fifth gathering contains verses 665–876, fols. 33–40. Then follows a double page with only the recto of fol. 41 used, and containing verses 868–907, and the verso of fol. 42 with verses 809–915 in a slightly later hand. It is evident from the above that the confusion in the three manuscripts, P2, B1 and V, arises in the same portion of the poem. The disorder in the model Le2 was later discovered and the manuscript correctly bound.

Stettiner's proof that the text of P2 was copied from Le2 is the following.[1] Le2 uses the word *urguet* in verse 253 which has later been corrected by erasure to *urget*. In verse 817 the word *arcae* has been similarly corrected to *arce*. P2 uses the incorrect forms *urguet* and *arcae*, while B1 and V employ the correct forms. This, according to Stettiner, indicates that P2 copied the mistakes from Le2, but that the text of the latter had been corrected before the manuscripts B1 and V were undertaken.

But Le2 begins verse 55 of the *Praefatio* with *Non esse* and a correction mark or *s* above the second *n*. P2 uses the correct form *Nos esse*. B1, which according to Stettiner's argument from the case of *urget* and *arce* was copied later than P2, contains the first form *Non esse;* V employs *Nos*. The correction in Le2, therefore, came after B1 and before V, and P2 must have obtained its correct form from some other source.

Le2 has in verse 64 of the *Praefatio* the word *spiritibus* with two small dots below the *ib*. P2 uses *spiritus*, the correct word. V, on the other hand, has *spiritibus*, which has later been corrected by the erasure of *ib*. In B1 the word has also been altered by an erasure; the space remaining indicates that the word was originally *spiritibus*. Evidently, then, the correction marks in Le2 were added after the copying of both B1 and V, and again P2 must have obtained the correct form from another source.

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 45.

59. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 15 (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

64. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (89), *Sapientia seated in the temple* (Stettiner)

60. London, British Museum, Add. 24199 (Lo1). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting* (Phot. Fleming)

61. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting* (Stettiner)

62. Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, F. IV. *Utrecht Psalter*, fol. 24v (detail) (Pal. Soc. Facs.)

63. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (84), *Fides assembles men* (Stettiner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Similar examples occur in the following verses:

		sen u	
1. Verse 729	Le2	pacificos ses	(With erasure and correction.)
	P2	pacificos sensus	(Correct.)
	B1	pacificos su sos	
	V	pacificos sensus	
2. Verse 651	Le2	posterga	
	P2	post terga	(Correct.)
	B1	posterga	(A later attempt has been made to correct the mistake.)
3. Verse 652	Le2	litora	
	P2	littora	(Correct.)
	B1	littora	(The second *t* has been inserted.)
4. Verse 874	Le2	perarat	(An *a* by a different hand has been placed above the *e*.)
	P2	pararat	(Correct.)
	B1	perarat	

From the above evidence it is clear that Le2 did not necessarily serve as the model for the text of P2.

There are also instances in which the two texts differ when Le2 uses the correct or usual form, while P2 has made some mistake in spelling or omitted a letter.[1] The mistakes are all of the kind common to scribes and in themselves of little weight, but taken in connection with the differences in the illustration, which will be set forth later, indicate that neither one was copied from the other.

The two texts are, however, very closely related. Verses 105 and 106 in both manuscripts read:

Condere vaginae gladium ne sorde latenti
Occupet ablutum rubigo scabra nitorem.

Other texts read:

Condere vagine(ae) gladium in tecta rubigo
Occupet ablutum scabrosa sorde nitorem.

The manuscript B1 copies Le2. V also copied it, but was corrected at a later date to read in the usual way.[2]

Comparison of the texts thus indicates a common source for Le2 and P2, but not the one as the source of the other.

The miniatures also present important differences. The impression that P2 makes against Le2 is that a more antique form and feeling has been retained.

[1] See verse 39..... Le2–parte, P2–parta, B1–parte.
" 821..... Le2–toga, P2–tota, B1–tota.
" 23..... Le2–lacertos, P2–lacertas.
" 33..... Le2–satiata solo, P2–satiatalo.

[2] The unusual reading is also found in a thirteenth century manuscript; A. Dressel, *op. cit.*, LXVIII, 177.

Though this impression is in the main a general one of the whole manuscript, certain specific cases can be indicated, as the shading on the walls of the cities, the shading on the skirts and legs of the figures, their general proportions, the roofs of the tribunals, the over-tunics of the female figures, and the boots worn by the warriors (cf. Figs. 49, 63, 67). It would be difficult for as careless an artist as the author of P2 to produce a more antique appearance than was contained in his model.[1]

Certainly the scene of *Luxuria feasting*, scene (40), could not have had Le2 for its model (cf. Figs. 66, 67). The architecture over the figures must be closer to the original in P2, even in the event that Le2 has been somewhat reworked, as is suggested by the present condition of the miniature. A comparison with the ivory, No. 257, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, representing Christ in the house of Simon, shows the exactness of the P2 rendering (Fig. 69). The object in the hand of the attendant is a spoon or ladle; Le2 missed the identity of this object completely. Examination of the original illustration shows conclusively that this portion of the picture has not been retouched.

The chariot used by Luxuria in Le2 is totally different from that in P2 (cf. Figs. 67, 68). Le2 may have placed the wheels at the forward end of the cart for lack of space, but it is hardly conceivable that the draftsman of P2 would have changed the character of the vehicle, and raised the figure of Luxuria and the chariot to accommodate the wheels in the three different scenes where this feature appears, had he been copying from a model like Le2. B1 and V copy Le2 exactly.

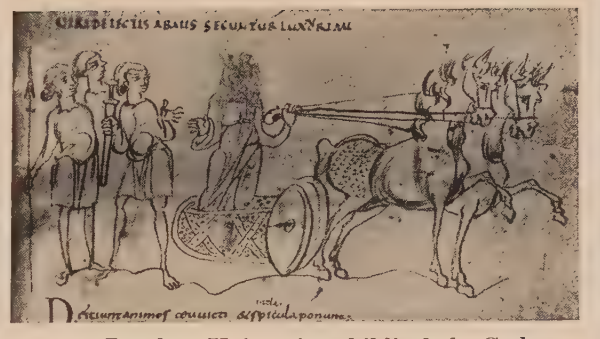
In scene (58), *Avaritia as cause of crime*, P2 follows the text more closely than does Le2 (cf. Figs. 23, 26). In addition to Avaritia there is a group of figures in which one seems to be forcing another to the ground and drawing a rope about its neck. The word *sternit* in the text may be interpreted to mean "she forces to the ground." In Le2 the standing figure holds a staff, but the text definitely states that those injured by Avaritia are left to wander without staff. The figures in P2 suggest Avaritia herself binding a kneeling figure as in Le1. Evidently some confusion and change took place in the model *R*. The fact that the manuscript Ly, which will be discussed later, has the figure with staff and also a figure binding a rope about the neck of a second figure on the ground, although the latter has been placed as an addition to the preceding scene (57), suggests that both groups appeared in *R*. This may have given rise to a gloss which determined the scene in Le2. It does not, however, seem possible that P2 copied Le2.

When *Lot is captured by the kings*, scene (2), P2 introduces four kings, and

[1] The paint has been applied throughout the manuscript, but the outlines and features have not all been strengthened.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

65. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (39), *Spes flies to Heaven*



68. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (44), *Luxuria persuades men to throw down arms*

69. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. *Christ in the house of Simon* (detail) (Goldschmidt)

66. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting*

67. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (40), *Luxuria feasting;* (42), *Luxuria enters battle in chariot*

Le2 five (cf. Figs. 49, 50). Only three horses are indicated in both manuscripts, the additional head in Le2 being inserted between the two figures at the right.[1] In P2 a flock of animals, a figure in short tunic and carrying a staff, a woman and a second male figure are placed below the rest of the scene on a smaller scale. In Le2 the flock is represented by four heads only.

In scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*, the flock and two walking figures appear again in P2, while Le2 represents only a few animals in addition to the group on horses (cf. Figs. 100, 103). Comparison of these two manuscripts with others of Group II will show that P2 with its additional figures is closer than Le2 to the usual scene (cf. Figs. 100, 103, 119). In this case and the one cited above, the miniaturist of P2 could not have drawn the additional figures, which are comparatively accurate in proportion and articulation, had he not found them in his model.

In scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, P2 approximates the manuscripts Le1 and P1 of Group I in costume, attitude and position much more closely than does Le2 (cf. Figs. 73, 74, 76). P2 could certainly not have copied Le2 and have arrived so close to the original archetype. Similarly in scene (6), Abraham's costume with over-tunic in P2 is closer to the other related manuscripts and to Group I than Le2.

If it is assumed that P2 was not copied from Le2, but that both manuscripts were copied from a common model, the differences and similarities are explainable. The illustrator of Le2 started by carefully confining the pictures to the space left for him, bounded on the lateral edges by the extremities of the text. He was therefore unable to include all the flock in scene (4), and in scene (2), *Lot captured by the kings*, he was obliged to change the position of the horse at the right from a galloping attitude to one of standing in order to get the forelegs into the picture (cf. Figs. 49, 50). P2 represents all the horses as running. After the first few pages, Le2 gave up this attempt to control the appearance of his manuscript and allowed the drawings to run into the margins.

A third difference between the two manuscripts lies in the title inscriptions, as Stettiner has noted.[2] In a very few cases they agree, but in other cases the titles of P2 correspond with those of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Group I, while those of Le2 follow other manuscripts of Group II as B2 and B3. In a few places the titles of P2 are taken directly from the text and agree with neither group.

We find, then, that the manuscripts Le2 and P2 differ in text, illuminations and title inscriptions. Both the text and the miniatures could have derived from a common prototype, but this does not fully account for the titles. The

[1] See pages 71 ff. for a possible explanation of the five kings.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

complete explanation lies in the use of two manuscripts as models for both Le2 and P2. On the assumption of this use of two models the following explanation of P2 is offered.

The confusion in the placing of the miniatures and their misplaced titles in P2 must be the result of a disordered model. P2 shows clearly that it was first prepared, the text copied, then the illustrations sketched in, though possibly not painted, and last the title inscriptions added.[1] The letters of the titles are not evenly formed and are sometimes careless in execution. Further, the red used for the titles is that of the miniatures, and may have been added by the illuminator, or by a third hand unacquainted with both text and illustrations. The unintelligent placing of the titles, so that they do not correspond with the scenes which they accompany, in the disordered part of the manuscript discussed above, is explained by the possibility that someone other than the original scribe inserted them, following the order in which they came in the manuscript which supplied the text, without noticing whether they described the particular scene or not. This also suggests that the manuscript which supplied the text of P2 was unillustrated, and one that contained the first lines of titles of the various sections in uncials, as in the manuscript P3.[2] Had the model contained miniatures, the confusion would certainly have been noted, for the pictures would have matched in the model and copy and the correct titles would have been easily inscribed. An unillustrated text offers little as guide to one not entirely familiar with the content of the poem. This supposition is further strengthened by the inscription used in the scene of *Luxuria feasting*, where not only the title belonging with the scene has been copied, but also the *Explicit* belonging to the preceding section (Fig. 67). This does not happen in any of the other illustrated manuscripts. The entire inscription is as follows:

> Explicit Humilitatis atque Superbia pugna. Nunc
> Luxuria Sobrietatem expugnat. Luxuria in cena sedet.

Since P2 was not copied from Le2, it is possible to redate the manuscripts and to place P2 earlier than the tenth century, as its character suggests. On the evidence of the text alone, Dr. B. L. Ullman of Chicago has placed P2 in the late ninth century, Le2 in the tenth or possibly late ninth century, but later than P2.[3] This dating agrees with the style of the miniatures.

A comparison of Le2 with B1, a manuscript of the late tenth century, and V of the eleventh century, probably of its second half,[4] leaves no doubt that

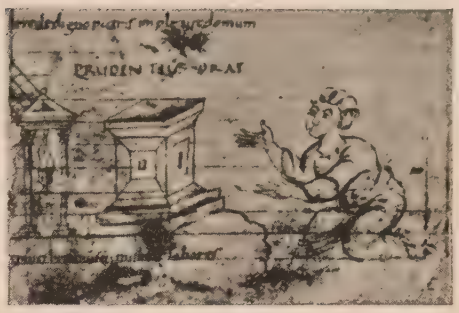
[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 52–55, for description of P3.

[3] W. Koehler in Clemen, *Belgische Kunstdenkmaeler* (Munich, 1923), p. 6, also dates Le2 in the second half of the ninth century; he questions P2 as a copy of Le2.

[4] This is the dating given by Dr. Ullman. Stettiner gives the following dates: P2–tenth century, after Le2; Le2–middle tenth; B1–late tenth; V–early eleventh.

70. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*



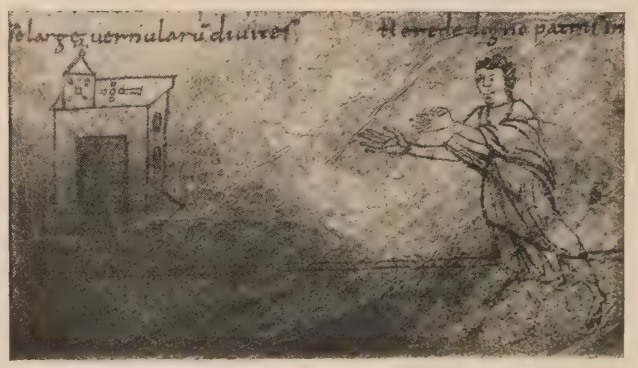
73. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Stettiner)

71. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Phot. Langsberg)

74. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God;* (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum* (Stettiner)

75. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (Stettiner)

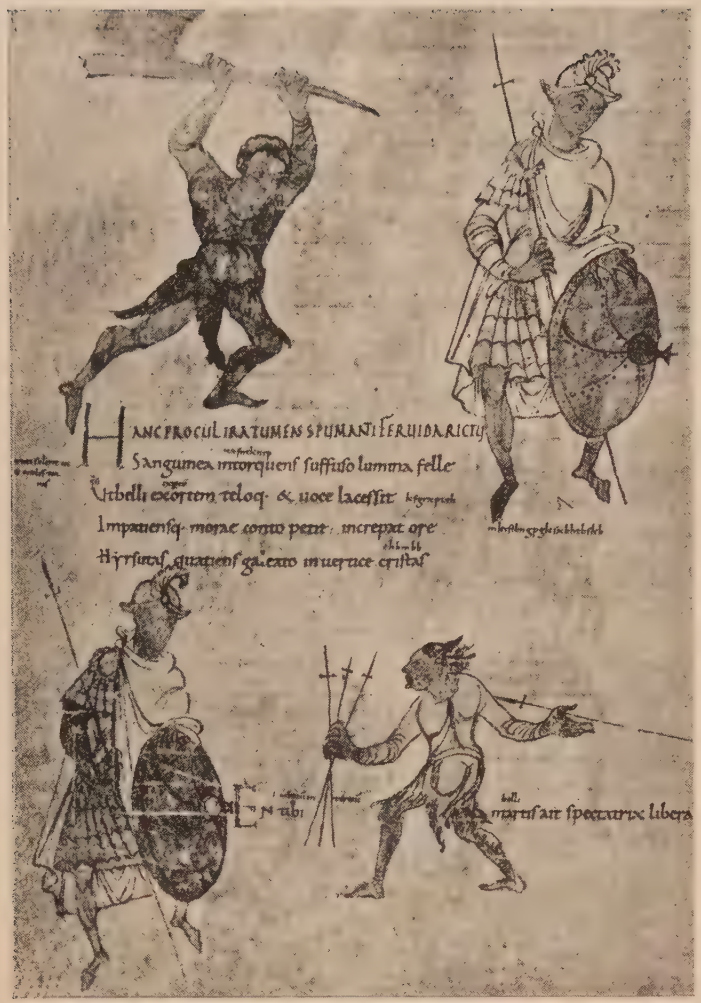
72. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*



76. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*

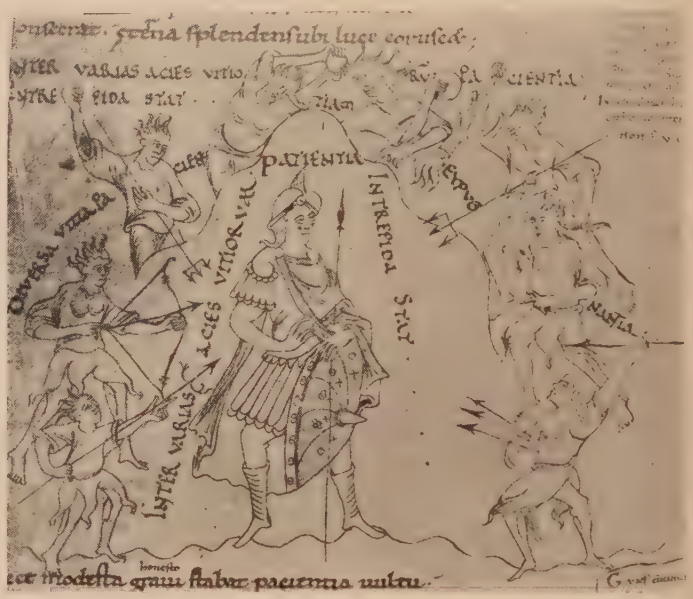
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

ARIZONA
LIBRARY



77. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (18), *Patientia accosted by Ira;* (19), *Patientia derided by Ira* (Stettiner)

79. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (18), *Patientia accosted by Ira* (Stettiner)



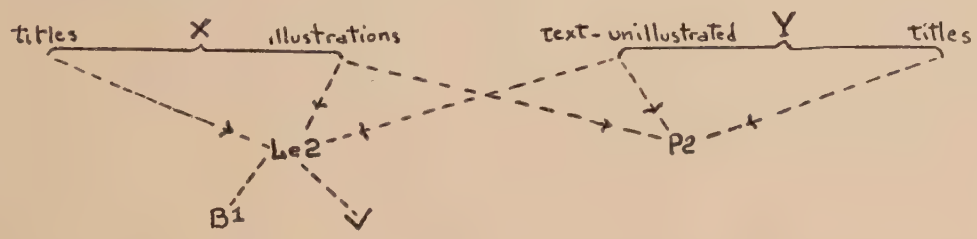
80. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices* (Stettiner)

78. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (18), *Patientia accosted by Ira;* (19), *Patientia derided by Ira* (Stettiner)

81. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (19), *Patientia derided by Ira* (Stettiner)

the two latter are copies of Le2. To account for the confusion in the text and miniatures of both B1 and V, it is necessary to suppose that the confusion in Le2, which Stettiner suggests, existed at the time the copies were made. The miniatures in Le2 are placed correctly as regards the text, so that the disorder in the common model of Le2 and P2 must have been noted by the illuminator of Le2 before he made his sketches. Since the titles of Le2 were taken from the illustrated manuscript no confusion resulted, for the scenes were matched with the model before the titles were taken. It is possible that Le2 was assembled with the illustrations in the order of the confused model to facilitate the entering of the titles. In this order it was sent to the binder.

The relations of the four manuscripts to their archetypes can be seen in the following diagram.



The manuscript V came from the Abbey of St. Amand near Valenciennes.[1] B1 is close to V in style, and since it came from the same model, it was probably written in the same scriptorium.[2] Le2 must also have been in St. Amand at the time the copies were made. The catalogue of St. Amand, compiled under Abbot Hugo (1150–1168) contains the following:[3]

> Prudentii tres de psychomachia, cum uno habetur
> Arator de Actibus Apostolorum.

The last mentioned manuscript containing the Arator is V; B1 is one of the manuscripts mentioned, and Le2, the model, is probably the third.

Since P2 and Le2 came from the same two models, it is reasonable to suppose that they were made in the same place. P2 contains in addition to the illustrations to the *Psychomachia* some line drawings in a hand of the eleventh century, apparently copies of Anglo-Saxon work, in a style to be found in northeastern France and Belgium, which indicates that the manuscript was in this region in the eleventh century.[4] Le2 and P2 have their provenance

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[2] W. Koehler in Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[3] Stettiner, p. 50. Koehler in Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[4] See folios 10v., 22v., 23, 25, 27v., 28, 31v., 49v., 50, 52, 71v. Mr. Meyer Schapiro has called my attention to the fact that a drawing very similar iconographically to that on fol. 10v. exists in a manuscript from Moissac now in Paris. The style of the drawing in the Prudentius, however, seems to me more Belgian than South French.

within the immediate circle of the influence of Reims, since the closest stylistic parallel to Le2 is the Utrecht Psalter, and the closest to P2 the Douce Psalter, also of the school of Reims [1] (cf. Figs. 6, 8, 67, 74).

The archetype of the manuscripts P2 and Le2 is designated on the stemma as *R'*, which in turn is a derivative of *R*, the actual model in the style of Reims. That P2 and Le2 did not descend directly from *R* is made clear in a comparison with the manuscripts Ly and Be. Both these manuscripts contain the scenes which have been described as characteristic of northern development and in particular of Reims, as scene (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices* (cf. Figs. 54, 57, 80). They also contain scenes which are closer to Group I and hence closer to the first archetype than P2 and Le2. In the following scenes Ly is closer to Be and B2 than to *R'*, using Le2 as representing *R'*: [2]

Scene (18), *Patientia accosted by Ira* (cf. Figs. 77, 78, 79). Ly and Be represent Ira at the left raising a club to strike Patientia. Le2 represents Ira with a long spear aimed at the helmet of Patientia.

Scene (19), *Patientia derided by Ira* (cf. Figs. 77, 78, 81). Ly and Be have Patientia at the left, Ira at the right, holding three arrows in the right hand and one in the left which she is about to hurl. Le2 is similar, but the arrow in the right hand is held upright.

Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (cf. Figs. 83, 86, 87). In Ly and B2 Largitas stands upon a prostrate figure and with the right hand extends a knotted cloth toward a group of lame and blind. In Le2 Largitas kneels beside the prostrate figure and extends her left hand toward the group.

That Be is closer to Group I and therefore closer to the original archetype *A* than *R'* is seen in the following scenes:

Scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom* (cf. Figs. 41, 42, 50). Be and Le1 show a group of captives including Lot and his family. Le2 has only Lot coming from the city with hands bound and led by one of the mounted figures.

Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido* (cf. Figs. 82, 84, 89). In Be and Le1 Pudicitia is clothed in a long tunic and mail. In the left hand she holds a shield, while with the right she stabs Libido. In Le2 Pudicitia is in short tunic and with both hands drives the sword into Libido who is at the right.

[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 79.

[2] Three examples will suffice to show the distinction. The comparison can be extended to scenes (4), (5), (20), (70), (81), (87).

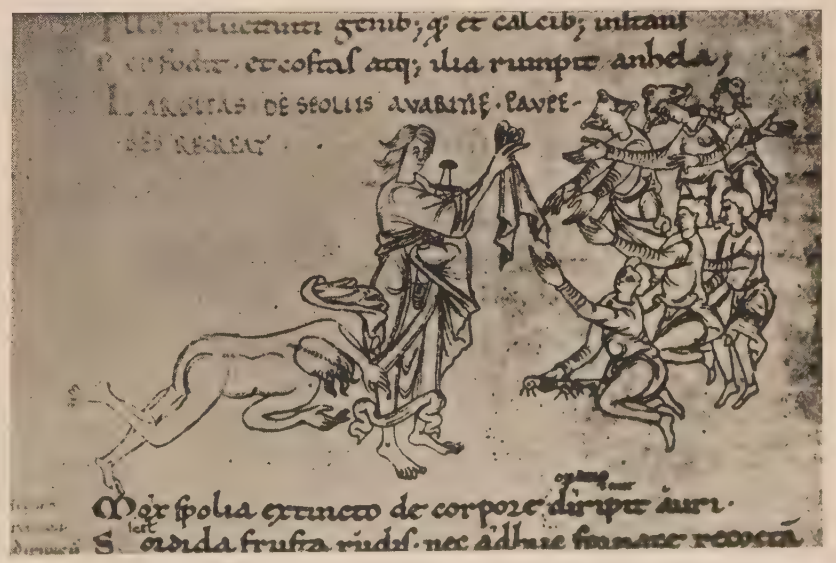
82. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido with sword;* (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido;* (15), *Pudicitia washes sword;* (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword;* (17), *Patientia undaunted by the Vices*

85. Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. *Codex Romanus,* fol. 16v (detail)

83. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)

86. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)

84. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido* (Stettiner)



87. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (69), *Largitas divides the spoils* (Stettiner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

88. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9987–91 (B1). Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues*

89. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (13), *Pudicitia stabs Libido* (Stettiner)

90. Brescia, Museum. Ivory Casket

91. Rome, Vatican Library, lat. 3867. *Codex Romanus*, fol. 100v.

92. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues*

Scene (28), *Patientia speaks with the Virtues* (cf. Figs. 88, 92, 93). In Be and Le1 Patientia at the right addresses a group of Virtues at the left. The costumes in Be are different and a group of figures engaged in battle is added at the right. In B1, which was copied from Le2, Patientia at the center addresses the Virtues at the right and is assailed by a group of Vices from the left.

Unfortunately Ly, in its present fragmentary condition, lacks the scenes given immediately above from Be, but the almost identical rendering of others, as (18), (19) and (69), allows Ly to be carried with Be to an earlier Reims model than *R'*, that is, to *R*.

The tendency in *R'* is to simplify the scene and reduce the number of figures. Ly and Be generally include in the military equipment of the warrior Virtues a mantle fastened on the right shoulder, thus making them like the majority of figures of the Utrecht Psalter in battle attire. P2 and Le2 omit the mantles. P2 and Le2 are usually more consistent than Be in employing either a long or a short tunic for any particular character. Be sometimes combines a coat of mail with a long tunic, an unusual costume which is also found in Group I, as in scene (13). The more meticulous and later workman of Ly tried to avoid these inconsistencies in dress, which, however, were doubtless contained in his model.

Be, B2 and B3 introduce certain new features which are not contained in the manuscript Ly. It is necessary, therefore, to introduce into the stemma a model which contained the scenes common to these three manuscripts. This model is designated as *X*. The following chosen examples will show the necessity of supposing such an intermediary:

Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God* (cf. Figs. 70, 71, 72, 75). It will be seen that Be, B2 and B3 have introduced an author portrait, while Ly represents only Prudentius before the altar.

Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes her sword* (cf. Figs. 98, 99, 101, 102). In Be, B2, and B3 Pudicitia in long garment washes her sword in the stream which flows from the right. In Be and B2 the stream issues from a tower; in B3 from the urns of two river-gods.[1] Ly represents Pudicitia in short garment dipping her sword in a stream at the left.

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 252, explains the tower from which the water flows in Be and B2 as having some connection with the tower surmounted by a cross sometimes seen in representations of the Baptism, as on the doors of San Paolo f. l. m., the Pala d'Oro, Venice, and the ivory on Codex 82 in the Stadtbibliothek at Munich. The title inscription accompanying the scene in most of the manuscripts warrants such a connection with the Baptism as it reads: *Pudicitia gladium suum lavat in Iordane.* Strzygowski uses the appearance of the tower in scenes of the Baptism as sure indication of tenth and eleventh century dating. (*Iconographie der Taufe Christi* [Munich, 1885], pp. 20–24, Pl. III.) That a tower had been erected to mark the spot of the Baptism in the Jordan as early as the sixth and seventh centuries is known from the *De Locis Sanctis* of Adamnanus and the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus (Geyer in *Corpus scrip-*

Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates her sword* (cf. Figs. 54, 105, 106, 108). Here Pudicitia stands behind the altar in Be, B2 and B3. In Ly she is placed at the left of the altar. Although the building behind the altar is found in Le1 of Group I, it was omitted from the model *R*. Its reappearance in Be and the related manuscripts does not necessarily mean Group I influence, nor closer relation to the original archetype than *R*. The temple is merely the usual appanage of the altar.

Scene (24), *Ira kills herself* (cf. Figs. 110, 112, 113). The attitude of Ira in Be and B2 is the same, and varies considerably from that in Ly.

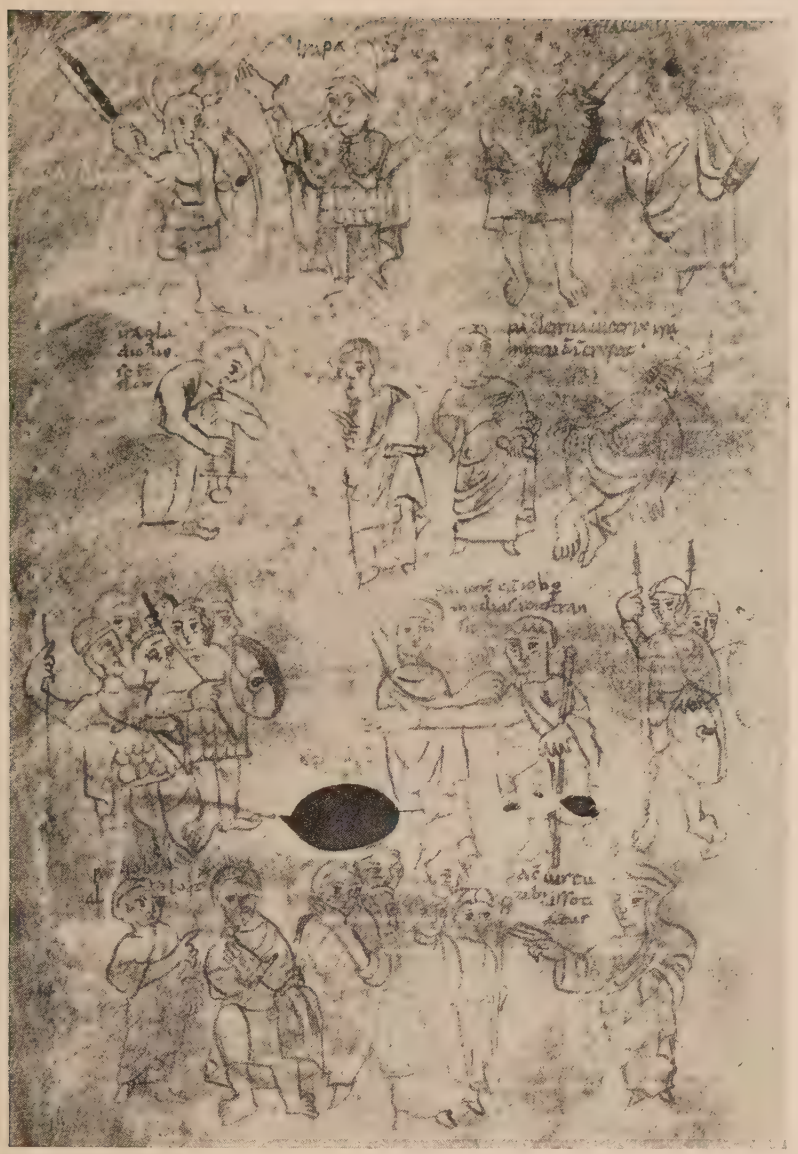
But B2 and B3 contain a few scenes which differ from the corresponding ones in Be, and have a closer connection with Group I than with other manuscripts of Group II. This relation to Group I obviously cannot have come down through the model *R*, and must be accounted for by the supposition that these two manuscripts were retraced in places where the lines had faded subsequently to the original drawing, and with a Group I manuscript as guide. It is not always in the same scenes that B2 and B3 have this relation to Group I, so that to introduce another hypothetical model from which these two manuscripts might have derived does not solve the problem.

B3 shows the work of four different hands working at different periods.[1] Hand One follows Be in essentials, only varying where his personal interest and the later period at which he was working would lead him to change details. Hand One probably made all the preliminary sketches. Hand Two traced heavily, but accurately, the main line of Hand One, but introduced pointed shields, and preferred nude Vices to those with flame-skirts. At a still later period, Hand Three redrew the faded scenes according to a Group I model. Hand Four suggests the use of a Group I manuscript in scene (31), but in scene (30) seems to have followed a model of the *R′* class.

B2 has also been reworked and the lines strengthened. It is in some of these touched-up scenes that the Group I influence is felt.

torum christianorum, vol. XXXIX). Both the tower and the river-god sometimes appear, as on the doors of San Paolo f.1.m. It is difficult to explain the fact that B3 represents two river-gods, possibly Jor and Dan, while Be and B2 substitute the tower, since the tower must have been introduced in the model *X* from which the three derive. If both tower and river-god were found in *X*, the difference might be explained on the basis of selection on the part of the individual draftsman. It is also possible that B3 did not understand the significance of the tower, and so substituted the usual personification of the Jordan. In any case, if the tower is associated with the Baptism, it must have appeared in art before the tenth century, since *X* is a ninth century model. Another possible explanation lies in a misunderstanding of the scene and its confusion with the following representation of Pudicitia dedicating her sword. In Le1 it will be noted that these two scenes lie next to each other, and the building which stands behind the altar in the second scene is very close to the river-god of the first (Fig. 82). Working from a faded model, and one in which the illustrations were placed together, or one in which the text was written in two columns so that these two scenes fell opposite on the page, the building might have been associated with the wrong scene. The manuscript G suggests such a mistake (Fig. 107). Here Pudicitia dedicates her sword in just such a tower as Be and B2 use for the source of the stream.

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–129.



93. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (22), *Ira attacks Patientia with sword;* (23), *Ira's sword breaks;* (24), *Ira kills herself;* (25), *Patientia inveighs against Ira;* (26), *Patientia with Job;* (27) *Patientia advises Job;* (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues*

94. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job*

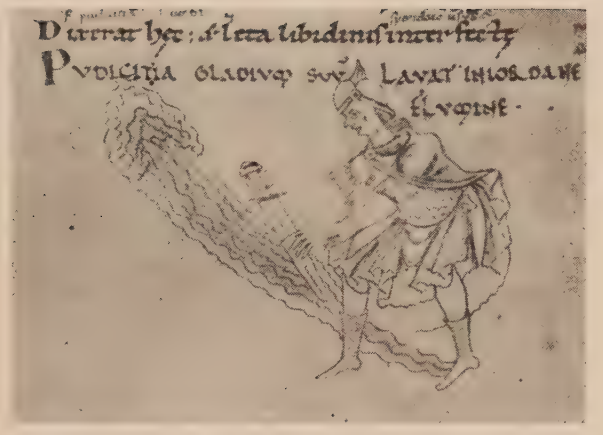
95. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job* (Stettiner)

96. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues* (Stettiner)

97. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (26), *Patientia with Job*

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA



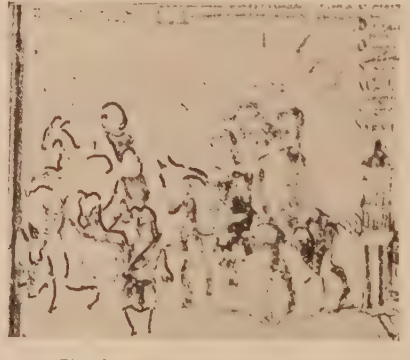
98. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Stettiner)

99. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword*

100. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot*

101. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Stettiner)

102. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword* (Phot. Langsberg)



103. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot* (Stettiner)

The result of Group I influence is seen in the following examples: [1]

Scene (26), *Patientia and Job* (Figs. 93, 94, 95, 97). The group of two figures at the right of the scene in Be has been changed in B2 and B3 to correspond with the representation in Group I as seen in Le1.

Scene (37), *Humilitas offers the head of Superbia to Spes* (Figs. 109, 111, 114). B2 has followed a Group I manuscript and placed Spes at the left, Humilitas toward the right extending the head of Superbia to Spes, while at the extreme right lies the body of Superbia. Only the horse which appears in Le1 has been omitted. Be presents a different placing of the figures, and different attitudes.

Scene (28), *Patientia addresses Virtues* (Figs. 92, 93, 96). B3 represents Patientia and the Virtues in long garments as in Le1, although the positions are reversed. In Be all the figures are in short tunics and mail.

It is impossible to tell from what point on the Group I branch the manuscripts came which were used in the revisions of B2 and B3. At one place only, scene (40) in B3, is it suggested that Hand Four was familiar with a manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon line (cf. Figs. 60, 61).

The manuscript H is only a fragment of one page with verses 172–177 and 181–189, and two drawings of Superbia. These are close to the representations of Superbia in Be.[2] In line 177 both H and Be read, *Virtus nam vidua . . .* a phrasing which is not common to all the manuscripts. The spelling of *cirros* in line 184, however, is not the same in the two manuscripts. H is placed on the same line of the stemma with Be for lack of further evidence.[3]

The manuscript K lies close to B3 on the basis of its divisions of text, titles, and agreement of wording and spelling, rather than on the basis of the miniatures.[4] K contains only three illustrations, a portion of scene (3), *Abraham goes to the rescue of Lot*, which suggests knowledge of a manuscript of the Be type, scene (4), *Abraham returning with Lot*, which also vaguely suggests Be, and is combined with scene (3^1) of Be,[5] and finally scene (6), *Abraham and the Angels*, which has no iconographic connection with any of the Prudentius manuscripts, unless it be Lo3, and is in a totally different style from the other two drawings in the manuscript. This last represents Abraham kneeling with arms extended at the right, at the left the three angels, winged and nimbed, the one nearest Abraham cross-nimbed; but it does not include

[1] Other examples in B3 are scenes (25), (35), (36), (40), (48), (50), (74); in B2 scenes (25), (33), (35), (36), (68).

[2] Stettiner, *op. cit., Taf.* 127.

[3] This is Stettiner's placing. The Hamburg Ms. was not included in the 1895 publication, but appeared in 1905 in the volume of plates, with a short notice.

[4] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128.

[5] Be develops the incident of Abraham's pursuit of the kings in an additional scene which, for convenience, is called (3^1).

Sarah, the tent, or the tree. The scene does not come in its proper place in the series, but precedes the entire poem and also the six-line account of the work of Prudentius. Stettiner sees in this style the same hand that reworked B1 on fols. 97r., 97v. and 109r.[1] He is led to this conclusion by Steinmeyer's study of the Latin and German glosses in K and B1.[2] Going further than Steinmeyer, Stettiner believes that the glosses in both manuscripts, which are similar, came from the identical archetype. Since the style of scene (6) in K does not appear strikingly like the style of the redrawn scenes of B1, one is inclined to agree with Steinmeyer that the common source of the glosses was somewhat further removed, and that the two manuscripts were not necessarily at any time in the same scriptorium.[3]

The insertion of the model *Y* into the stemma rests on somewhat slender grounds because of the incomplete condition of the manuscripts involved. Be, B3 and K are separated from B2 by the greater development of the battle episodes which center around the rescue of Lot by Abraham, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Be has an additional feature in the messenger bringing the news of the capture to Abraham in scene (2), *Abraham rescues Lot.* This is also suggested in K (cf. Figs. 115, 116). B3 has unfortunately lost the portion of the manuscript containing this scene. Be also inserts an additional illustration, not found in the usual Prudentius series before verse 33, in which a company of armed horsemen pursues a group of confused men on foot into their tents (Fig. 117). In K, before the same verse, a suggestion of this scene remains; the vague outlines of the tents can be detected in the original, but do not show up in the reproduction (cf. Figs. 117, 118). In this same space, before verse 33, should appear the scene of Abraham returning with Lot, which K has attempted to crowd in immediately above the one just described (Fig. 118). Be places the illustration of Abraham's return in the next following space for illustration before verse 28, together with the scene of Abraham and Melchisedek which belongs in the space (Fig. 119). B3, as we have seen above, is carried with K by text, title inscriptions, divisions and omissions. The extra battle scene and the messenger bringing the news to Abraham, which have been described as outside of the usual Prudentius series, comprised a development not found in B2. B2 is closer to Ly in the scenes in question, but even here there is some confusion. This addition to the wars of Abraham appeared, then, in the model *Y*.[4]

The manuscript P3 is a little difficult to place. It contains four drawings, of which only three could have been executed at the time the manuscript was

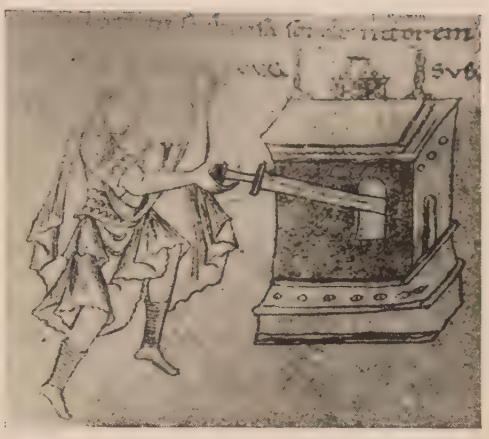
[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[2] *Zeitschrift für deutsch. Altert.*, XVI (1873), 8 f.

[3] It must be admitted, however, that the angels in scene (6) of B1 seem to have been reworked from a model similar to Be. Note particularly the positions of the wings and feet (cf. Stettiner, *op. cit.*, *Taf.* 85, 133).

[4] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 183, suggests that such a development took place somewhere along the line leading to Be.

104. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (5), *Abraham and Melchisedek;* (6), *Abraham and the Angels;* (7), *Prudentius invokes God;* (8), *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum;* (9), *Fides conquers Cultura Deorum;* (10), *Fides crowns the martyrs;* (11), *Pudicitia attacked by Libido;* (12), *Pudicitia disarms Libido*



106. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword* (Stettiner)

107. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (G). Scene (15), *Pudicitia washes sword;* (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*

105. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9968–72 (B3). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*

108. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (16), *Pudicitia dedicates sword*

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

prepared, and of the three only one was carried out with any degree of finish. Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, represents Prudentius kneeling upon a prayer stool.[1] In attitude the figure is closest to Lo2. Scene (14), *Pudicitia inveighs against Libido*, recalls Be, although the details of the prostrate figure vary. Scene (13), *Pudicitia strikes Libido with a sword*, can best be compared with the corresponding scene in Le1, where Pudicitia is almost identical with the figure in P3, but Libido turned in the opposite direction. The fourth drawing, *Largitas distributing the spoils*, is a fourteenth century sketch, possibly inspired by a mansucript of the Le2 class. The title inscriptions in P3 agree with those of Le2 and its copies.[2] In addition to the Latin glosses, the manuscript contains marginal German glosses of Middle or Lower Rhenish dialect.[3] The text is particularly close to B3, but the spelling and abbreviations in general follow Le2. Stettiner relates the manuscript to the Le2 branch of the stemma.[4] On the evidence of scene (14), which is close in style to Be, the general agreement of the text with B3, and also the possibility of a Group I manuscript determining scene (13), there is less possibility of error if P3 is placed on the other branch of the Group II stem, and for lack of more definite indication, near the model *X*.

The St. Gall manuscript, G, belongs near the Be, B2 and B3 branch. Here the Vices do not wear the characteristic flame-skirt of Group II, nor are the Virtues represented in mail. Group I influence is suggested in the costumes, and in the architecture of scene (89) (Figs. 107, 129). The illustrations are often a composite representation of several episodes, or a selected scene to cover a considerable portion of the story. The closest parallels in attitude and costume are found in B3. Like Be, G contains the scene of Fraus digging a pitfall for Superbia,[5] but like P4, a manuscript of Group I, also contains the scene of Ratio shielding the priests.[6] The manuscript can be attached to no definite line of the stemma, but must be indicated as having drawn its inspiration from several sources in Group II. Stettiner has made this clear in his arrangement of the stemma, but he has not indicated the possible influence from Group I.

The late thirteenth century manuscript P4 is clearly a manuscript of the Group I class. The details of costume and architecture are purely Gothic, but

[1] A similar figure on a prayer stool is found on an ivory of the tenth century in the Museum of Amiens; Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. I, no. 57 (Liuthard Group).

[2] Stettiner did not publish the titles to P3. I have recently checked the titles and find them so close to Le2 that it is unnecessary to list them.

[3] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[5] This scene stands before verse 253, together with the scene of Superbia attempting to ride down Humilitas and Spes, scene (32), which normally comes in this place. The digging of the pit is described further on in verse 257 ff. B3 has an empty space here, so that one cannot judge whether the illustration was contained in *Y* or not. B2 does not illustrate the Fraus episode.

[6] This additional scene comes before verse 501. Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

the general placing of the figures is that of P1 and Le1. A few scenes, however, show a knowledge of some manuscript of the Group II line:

Scene (74), *Concordia orders the standards into camp* (cf. Figs. 122, 125, 126).

Scene (76), *The Virtues arrive at the city* (cf. Figs. 121, 123, 124).

Stettiner has pointed out the manner in which the Anglo-Saxon manuscript Lo3 represents the end of the development of the Prudentius illustrations.[1] Probably a whole series of manuscripts, no longer extant, showed the gradual bringing together of all the various lines of development from Germany, France and England. Lo3 depends on the French manuscripts rather than on the Anglo-Saxon for its Group I elements. For example, in scene (11), *Pudicitia attacked by Libido*, Libido is represented in long tunic and mail as in Le1, while in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts the mail has been omitted. In other scenes Group II has obviously played an important part. Lo3 has therefore been placed on the stemma so that it does not embrace the entire Group I series, but develops from *T* plus a definite Group II influence.

As evidence for an archetype of the fifth century, Stettiner cites the obvious borrowing of antique motives which occurs throughout the illustrations. These he selects from the manuscripts P1 and Le1, which have retained the most decided antique character. Specifically he mentions the figure of Operatio in scene (65) clothed as an Amazon, holding shield and battle axe; the temple in scene (88), a correctly constructed three-aisled basilica; Patientia in scene (21) clothed in long garment and mantle drawn tightly about the right arm but allowing the hand to extend in speaking gesture, the left hand holding a scroll; Superbia on her horse in scene (30) with mantle flying over her head; Amor represented as a nude figure, winged, and casting aside bow and arrow; and finally the river-god, personification of the Jordan, in scene (15). Stettiner declares that these motives would not have been revived in the Carolingian period, nor in the Barbarian period, but rather in that period represented by the *Vatican Virgil*, when such antique motives were still a part of the familiar vocabulary of the artists of the West Roman Empire, that is, in the period immediately following the writing of the poem.[2]

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–196. After the eleventh century the geographical distinction of Groups I and II disappeared. Thus we find demons with flame-skirts representing the Vices on a Romanesque capital in Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand (Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e Siècle en France* [Paris, 1922], p. 23, Fig. 19). The capital was undoubtedly inspired by the *Psychomachia*. An eleventh century Ms. in Paris (Bibl. Nat., lat. 2077) from Moissac, containing a treatise on the Virtues and Vices by St. Augustine, shows a representation of a Vice with flame-skirt on fol. 163, and on the same folio another with flame-hair. The twelfth century *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsberg contains a representation of Superbia, mounted, using a lion's skin for saddle, her drapery flying behind, which suggests that it was inspired by a Prudentius illustration of Group II.

[2] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–161.

109. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes;* (38), *Spes inveighs against Superbia;* (39), *Spes (Humilitas) flies to Heaven;* (40), *Luxuria feasting;* (41), *Luxuria hears battle trumpets;* (42), *Luxuria enters battle in biga*

110. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself*

111. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 10066–77 (B2). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes* (Stettiner)

112. Lyon, Bibliothèque du Palais des Arts, Ms. 22 (Ly). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself* (Stettiner)

113. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (24), *Ira kills herself*

114. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (37), *Humilitas offers Superbia's head to Spes* (Stettiner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

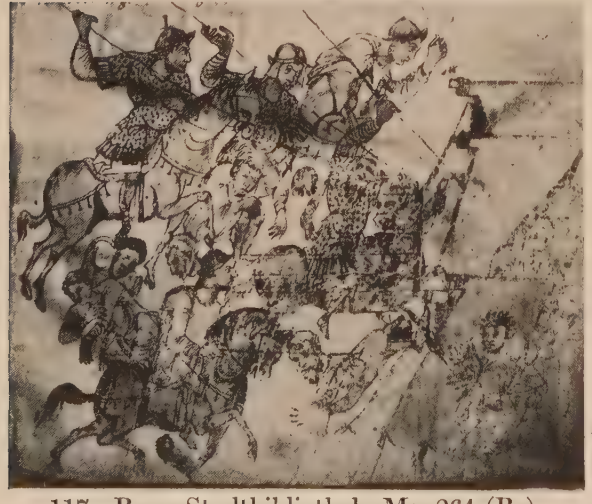
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

115. Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. 81 (K). Scene (3), *Messenger comes to Abraham* (Stettiner)

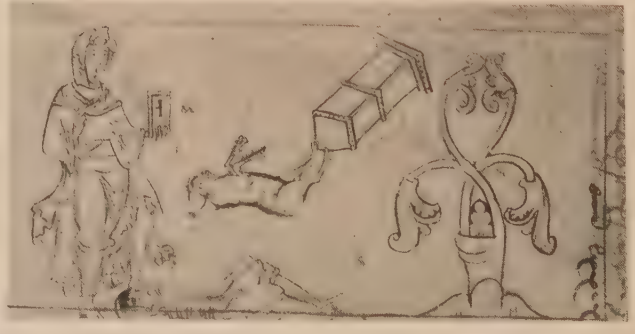
118. Cologne, Dombibliothek. Ms. 81 (K). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot;* (3′), *Abraham pursues the kings* (Stettiner)

116. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3), *Messenger comes to Abraham; Abraham rescues Lot*

119. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (4), *Abraham returns with Lot;* (5) *Abraham and Melchisedek*



117. Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 264 (Be). Scene (3′), *Abraham pursues the kings*



120. Munich, Stadtbibliothek, Clm. 29031b (M). Scene (9), *Fides conquers Cultura Deorum*

A comparison of these antique motives with specific monuments of the Early Christian period which have been dated by more recent archaeological research, throws further light on the character and date of the original archetype of the Prudentius. An Amazon shield of the kind appearing in both Groups I and II is found on fol. 100 of the *Codex Romanus*,[1] a manuscript which is now generally dated in the fifth century. The double battle axe is a frequent motive, but should be particularly compared with one in the *Ambrosian Iliad*,[2] a Greek manuscript in the Alexandrian style, probably of the fifth century. The garment of Patientia is a thoroughly familiar one in catacomb frescoes, on the sarcophagi, and in early manuscripts, but taken together with the style, the beginning of schematization, the weight and proportion of the figures, finds its closest parallels in the fifth century *Vienna Genesis*,[3] a manuscript of Asia Minor, and in the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula*.[4] There does not appear to be any exact parallel for Superbia on her horse with mantle flying over her head. This flying bit of drapery recalls the personifications of the *Joshua Rotulus*,[5] and the figures of Poseidon riding over the waves, common on cut gems and coins.[6] The mounted warrior is particularly frequent and in the attitude of Superbia suggests, above all, the mounted figures of Coptic art. A specific instance is the figure on the limestone frieze in the Cairo Museum, dated in the sixth to the seventh century (cf. Figs. 37, 39). Buildings similar to the temple in Le1 can be seen in the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (cf. Figs. 127, 130), and in an *Agrimensores*, called by Zimmermann a Fulda copy of a fourth or fifth century original (Fig. 128).[7] It will be noted that the temple in Le1 has three aisles while the comparative examples cited have one aisle, but that all are surrounded by columns with wall behind. This probably means that the type portrayed in Le1 is a Christianized antique aedicula or temple retaining the peristyle from the artistic prototype.

To the above examples may be added others which have derived from motives common in the Early Christian period. These are not confined to Group I as Stettiner has confined his examples, since in certain cases Group II seems to approximate the older form. Scene (7), *Prudentius invokes God*, is represented in Group II by Prudentius, with arms extended, approaching an altar which is placed before a small building. In some cases, as in P2, the building is reached by a short flight of steps (Fig. 74). A lamp, or *corona*, is

[1] Rome, Bibl. Vat., lat. 3867; *Picturae ornamenta complura scripturae specimina codicis Vaticani 3867 qui Codex Vergilii Romanus audit*, Rome, 1902.

[2] Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F. 205; M. Ceriani, *op. cit.*, fol. 12v.

[3] Wickhoff, *op. cit.*

[4] Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* (Prato, 1876), vol. III, Pls. 128–140.

[5] Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 431; *Il rotulo di Giosuè*, Milan, 1905.

[6] Adolf Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Berlin, 1900), Pl. XXXVII, p. 3.

[7] Rome, Bibl. Vat., lat. 1576; H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei* (Vienna, 1910), p. 91.

hung in the entrance. Be, B2 and B3 have introduced an author portrait at this place, but retain the building and altar (Figs. 70, 71, 72). Countless examples of such buildings and altars are found in Carolingian art, and notably in the Utrecht Psalter, but from an early period a close parallel is found in the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (Fig. 141) and in the *Ambrosian Iliad.*[1]

Group I omits the building in this scene and retains only the altar and Prudentius in the same attitude of reverence as in P2. The altar is surmounted by a pyx, or box, crowned by a cross; a small cross lies flat upon the altar (Fig. 76). The altar itself is not of the kind with profiled top and bottom taken over from pagan use, as in Group II, but has a large opening on one side and several small openings on another, the openings or chambers being used to house relics, and is of later origin.[2]

The pyx in P1 appears to be of the circular type with conical top. In Le1 its height suggests a miniature tower (Fig. 104). Such receptacles were used to house the Eucharist. Joseph Braun concludes, after a study of the notices concerning the reverencing of the Host on the altar, that the evidence is insufficient to believe that the Host was placed upon the altar as early as the sixth century except at the time of celebration.[3] The first documentary evidence for the practice of leaving the pyx on the altar is in the *Admonitio Synodalis* of the ninth century,[4] and in the writings of Regino of Prüm, *si pixida semper sit super altare cum sacra oblatione ad viaticum infirmis.*[5] Pictorial evidence of the pyx on the altar from a pre-Carolingian period does not exist. Of a later period, besides those of the Prudentius manuscripts, there is an example in the eleventh century Vyscherad Evangelary in the University Library at Prague. On fol. 157v. of the Stuttgart Psalter which derives its motive from models of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries,[6] as illustration to Psalm cxlii, Christ is represented in sitting posture within a sarcophagus which is placed under a vaulted structure (Fig. 133). In front and to the right is a stand which resembles a square, solid altar; upon this is placed a tower-like object surrounded by two superimposed rows of columns and covered by a dome surmounted by a cross. In the margin beside the illustration are the words: *De monumentum* (sic) *domini dicit.* This tower suggests

[1] M. Ceriani, *op. cit.*, Pict. I, fol. 1v.

[2] Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1924), I,193. Braun believes that this type of altar was used chiefly in Italy. He cites extant examples of the fifth (one), sixth (several), and later centuries.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 574–575.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 584.

[5] Mabillon decided that the pyx was left on the altar as early as the sixth century, and drew his conclusion from the statement made in the Third Canon of the Second Synod of Tours (576): *Ut corpus Domini in alteri non imaginario ordine, sed crucis titulo componatur* (Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 578, and note 26). Braun denies that this statement has any connection with the pyx.

[6] See forthcoming publication of the Stuttgart Psalter by E. T. DeWald.

121. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*

124. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8085 (P2). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*

122. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8318 (P1). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*

125. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Burm. Q. 3 (Le2). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*

123. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (76), *Virtues arrive at city*

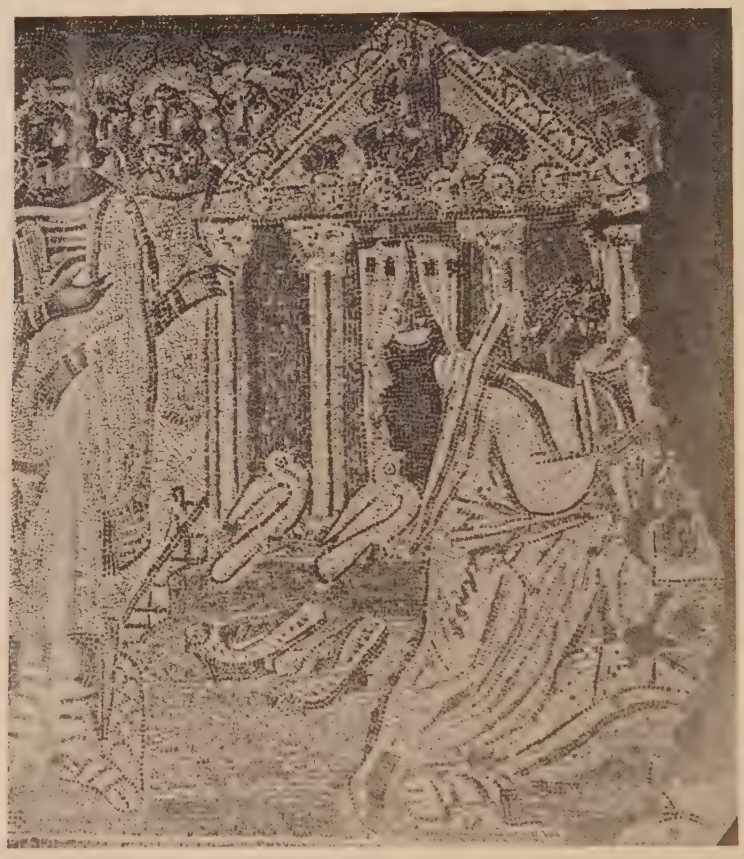
126. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 15158 (P4). Scene (74), *Concordia orders standards into camp*

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

127. Leyden, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Le1). Scene (88), *Temple;* (89), *Sapientia seated in temple*

128. Rome, Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1567. *Agrimensores* (Phot. Frick Art Reference Library)



130. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. Detail from *Presentation of Christ in Temple* (Wilpert)

131. British Museum. Graeco-Roman Gem. *Serapis enthroned* (Dalton)

129. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 135 (B). Scene (89), *Sapientia seated in temple* (Stettiner)

a Eucharistic *turris*, such as that referred to by Venantius Fortunatus, and other early mediaeval sources.[1] In connection with a discussion of an ivory pyx in the Metropolitan Museum, it was suggested that this form was adopted in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[2] If this is a pyx for the reservation of the Host, placed upon the altar, it affords another example of the practice.

The pyx upon the altar is, in any case, a constant feature throughout Group I. It must have been represented in the archetype of this group. That this feature was introduced in a ninth century reworking of the Prudentius seems unlikely, since the convincing Early Christian type of Abraham in scene (6) could hardly have been retained in the manuscript P1 had the model been subjected to more than one Carolingian reworking (Fig. 10).[3] Le1 also has the pyx upon the altar so that this feature must antedate the reworking in the model *T*, which changed the scene of *Fides attacked by Cultura Deorum*. Stettiner would probably have claimed that the pyx was introduced in his supposed seventh century archetype. It will be seen later that it is both unnecessary and practically impossible to assume a seventh century model. If the pyx did appear in the original archetype of Group I, it is evidence that, in some regions at least, the practice of placing the Host upon the altar at times other than the celebration of the Eucharist was known long before the ninth century. Important for the present consideration is the fact that the archetype of Group I differed from that of Group II, and may be looked upon as a later revision.

The cross lying upon the altar may have been derived from the cross which frequently adorns the center of the altar cloth, as on the silver reliquary case from the Sancta Sanctorum now in the Vatican,[4] or in a miniature of the *Menologium of Basil II*.[5] Paulinus of Nola refers to a cross of this sort in the phrase: *altaris faciem signo pietatis adornat*.[6] In the Third Canon of the Synod of Tours appears the following: *Ut corpus Domini in altari non imaginario ordine sed crucis titulo componatur*. It is possible, then, that in the original Prudentius illustration this cross on the altar was the Eucharistic *oblatae* prepared in the shape of a cross, from which the consecrated element was taken to be reserved in the pyx.[7]

Scene (10), *Fides crowning the martyrs*, differs in important details in Groups I and II. In both groups Fides stands at the left about to crown the

[1] Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 577.
[2] Joseph Breck, *A Tower of Ivory*, in *Art in America*, vol. VIII (1920).
[3] That the model had been reworked once was shown in the discussion of *Fides and Cultura Deorum*.
[4] Braun, *op. cit.*, vol. II, *Taf.* 116.
[5] *Il Menologio di Basilio II, Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613* (Turin, 1907), Pl. 107.
[6] Poema XIX, Verse 664; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 61, col. 548.
[7] Braun, *op. cit.*, II, 578.

four figures at the right.[1] In Group II the figures hold palms, clearly labelling them as martyrs; in Group I they have no attributes and are usually designated in the title inscriptions as virtues (cf. Figs. 27, 104). Group II thus follows the text more closely. Further, in Group II, Fides is about to crown the martyrs with a wreath, while in Group I she holds a crown. A wreath is the earlier martyrs' attribute; it is held by the two female figures in the fourth century apsidal mosaic of S. Pudenziana, Rome,[2] while in the sixth century mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, the wreath held by the saints and martyrs has been stylized into the semblance of a diadem.[3]

In scene (17) of Group I we have Patientia represented as an orant when assailed by the Vices. Group II has changed this scene, done away with the orant and substituted one of its most characteristic Reims arrangements (cf. Figs. 54, 82). The orant is evidence of familiarity with symbolic representations of the catacomb variety of the third and fourth centuries. Another such borrowing from funereal art is the banquet of Luxuria in Group I (Fig. 109). A circular table is placed in front of the sigma couch, stylized into a bench, on which sit the participants in the feast, and at one side and in front a servant, who has filled a cup from the pitcher in his right hand, extends the cup toward the guests.[4] A close parallel is seen in the cemetery of Petrus and Marcellinus,[5] in the *Codex Romanus* (Fig. 91), and on the ivory casket in Brescia which is generally dated in the fifth century (Fig. 90).

The chariot in scenes (42–45) in Group I is the same as that found on an ivory of the sixth century in the Cathedral of Trier (cf. Figs. 109, 140). The chariot of Group II is of a distinctly different type (Fig. 67).

Sapientia seated in the temple, scene (89), as represented in Group I could have been copied from coins or cut gems representing Justice seated before a temple (cf. Figs. 127, 131). The building itself is like that found in the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, the stepped base, the columns, and even the ornament on the raking cornice of the pediment being duplicated (cf. Figs. 127, 130).

The above comparisons point to two conclusions: (1) that both Groups I and II employ features which were common in the Early Christian era; and (2) that Group II has retained elements which are older than those in Group I, as the wreath with which Fides crowns the martyrs, while Group I has substituted some features characteristic of the sixth century for those of the fourth and fifth, as the chariot of Luxuria, and the altar at which Prudentius prays.

More important than the above evidence for an early archetype is a con-

[1] The number of martyrs was reduced to three in *R'*.

[2] Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, vol. III, Pl. 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. 78.

[4] For a discussion of this scene in Group II see page 46.

[5] Crypt opposite the crypt of Gaudentia; Wilpert, *Roma Sotterranea* (Rome, 1903), Pl. 157.

132. Rome, Vatican Library, Ms. Gr. 699.
Cosmas Indicopleustes (Cod. e Vat. Selecti)

134. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9448.
Troper of Prüm

133. Stuttgart, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 23.
Psalter, fol. 157 (Phot. Dewald)

135. Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). *Abraham sacrificing Isaac* (Wilpert)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

sideration of the iconography of the scenes belonging to the *Praefatio*. These scenes are taken from the Old Testament, and consequently fall into clearly defined classes which can be compared with other monuments.

Selecting the constant features of scene (1), *Abraham sacrificing Isaac*, from all the manuscripts of Group II, we find that the archetype of this group must have contained the following: the Hand of God in the upper left hand corner; below, a tree and the ram caught in a thicket; Abraham bearded, in long garment, looking over his shoulder toward the Hand of God, in his right hand a short sword or knife, his left hand grasping the head of Isaac, who is nude and placed upon the altar. This is essentially the scene of the Asiatic-Hellenistic sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, the important distinguishing features being the bearded Abraham in long garment, and Isaac upon the altar.[1] The cyprus tree is a Syro-Palestinian motive.[2] This reconstruction is practically the scene as it appeared in the nave mosaics of Old St. Peter's, which were executed under Liberius (352–366) and repaired under Formosus (891–896) (Fig. 135).[3]

The archetype of the same scene in Group I must have been as we find it in P1 (Fig. 7). The important difference between this and the archetype of Group II lies in the fact that Isaac is clothed, is not placed upon the altar, and that the altar is located above in the upper right hand corner. It can be compared chiefly with the same scene in the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes, a manuscript of the ninth century which derives its iconography from an original of the sixth century illustrated in Alexandria[4] (Fig. 132). It must be, therefore, later than the archetype from which Group II derived the scene, and could not have been introduced into the Prudentius series until the scene represented in this way had been carried to the West.

Scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom by the four kings*, has no parallel in the repertory of Early Christian art. The same is true of scenes (3) and (4), although Abraham's pursuit of the kings recalls in numerous details as well as general placing the scene of Joshua's pursuit of the five kings in the Vatican Octateuch.[5]

[1] Alison Smith, *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXVI (1922); Marion Lawrence, *City-Gate Sarcophagi*, in *Art Bulletin*, X, (1927).

[2] Alison Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–169.

[3] Wilpert, *op. cit.*,I, 376–384.

[4] Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 699.

[5] Rome, Bibl. Vat., gr. 746, fol. 453; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, 468, Fig. 170. The scene in the Octateuch should be compared with scene (3), *Abraham rescues Lot*, in Le2 where the artist has misunderstood the relation of the figure leaning over the neck of the horse to the figure immediately behind, with the result that the two seem to be on the same horse. The original archetype probably had only one figure riding ahead, the courier who led the way for Abraham. The additional figures may have appeared in *R'*, and were possibly inspired by a Joshua scene similar to the Octateuch design. The hand that reworked B1 in this same scene may also have been following a Joshua model, for the similarity is still more marked in this manuscript (cf. *Taf.* 67, 68).

Scene (5), *Abraham and Melchisedek*, however, offers opportunity for comparison with Early Christian types. The closest parallel with the rendering in Group I is a miniature in the *Vienna Genesis* of the fifth century (cf. Figs. 11, 104). In both Abraham is bearded, in long garment, his hands covered with a cloth; Melchisedek is in a short decorated tunic with mantle.[1]

Group I is closer than Group II to the original archetype in scene (6), *Abraham and the angels* (Fig. 10). Here Sarah is seated in the tent resting her head upon her hand; Abraham, bearded, stands under a tree and speaks to the three angels who stand at the right. The angels are clothed in short garments and mantles. In most of the manuscripts the angels are winged, but Le1 is distinctive in having only one of the angels winged, and even this one appears to have the wings added by the hand of the copyist independently of the model (Fig. 104). The lower edge and side of the first angel's garment have a border of ornament; all three are with empty hands.

The scene of Abraham with the angels in the fourth century mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore is represented by nimbed, wingless angels, in long garments, Sarah standing before a building, and Abraham, bearded, in a long garment (Fig. 136).

The sixth century mosaics of S. Vitale also offer an example of wingless angels as guests of Abraham. Here Sarah stands before the door of a building; Abraham, bearded, stands under the tree. The angels are nimbed.

In the cemetery of S. Callixtus is a relief representing three standing figures and one seated. At the feet of the seated figure is an ox head, the usual symbol of the repast served by Abraham to the angels. If this represents Abraham and the angels it affords another example of wingless angels, and here without nimbi.[2]

There are extant a number of lamps which it has been suggested represent this same scene. They, however, so closely resemble other lamps which depict the incident of the three Hebrews declining to worship the idol that there is some question whether they are not a simplification of the latter scene. Stuhlfauth believes they furnish examples of wingless angels,[3] and date from the second half of the fifth century.

According to the Grimaldi drawings of the fourth century mosaics of Old

[1] In the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore Abraham arrives on horseback and is armed; Melchisedek is in short garment and mantle, and holds a basket containing the offering. The ivory pyx in the Hermitage, Petrograd (Coll. Basilewsky) has a similar Melchisedek in short tunic, but Abraham is also in short tunic, and a servant carries the ram, Abraham's offering, on his shoulders (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, Figs. 440–442). In the mosaics of S. Marco at Venice, Abraham is in short, belted garment, and holds a spear; behind him an attendant holds a horse, and Melchisedek is in a long robe and priest's cap, holding the chalice and paten in his hands. The Octateuchs do away with the offering scene and show the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek, both in long garments, and both bearded. None of these examples is comparable to the rendering in the Prudentius manuscripts.

[2] Wilpert, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 150.

[3] *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Freiburg, 1897), pp. 114–115.

136. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. *Abraham and the Angels* (Wilpert)

137. Vienna, Imperial Library, Cod. theol. gr. 31 (detail). *Vienna Genesis* (Wickhoff)

139. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Embroidery. *Annunciation and Visitation* (Dalton)

138. Mosaic from nave of Old Basilica of St. Peter's (Grimaldi drawing). *Abraham and the Angels* (Wilpert)

140. Trier, Cathedral Treasury, Ivory. *Translation of Relics* (Dalton)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

St. Peter's, the angels were wingless, with Abraham, bearded, kneeling before them (Fig. 138).

Stuhlfauth cites the writings of John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Augustine and others, to show that gradually a change took place in the conception of the character of the Three who appeared to Abraham.[1] They were described by the Hebrew text as having the appearance of men, and were consequently represented as with no distinguishing attributes. The significance of the Three gradually linked itself with the Trinity, and a mandorla or nimbus was given to the angels. A third step was the singling out of one angel (as the Logos) to whom Abraham addressed his speech, this one distinguished by a cross-nimbus, or by a mandorla as in the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore. Finally, to indicate the heavenly character of the messengers, they were winged.

According to Stuhlfauth the earliest example of winged angels in this scene is provided by the *Cotton Genesis*, dating in the sixth century.[2] Here the angels also carry staffs. From the end of this century the angels were winged, unless as occasionally happened, they were copied from an older archetype.[3]

Ly is the only manuscript of Group II which represents the angels without wings. We have seen that Ly is, in some respects, the closest to the ninth century archetype in the style of Reims of all the Group II manuscripts. It is possible, therefore, that *R*, which descends directly from the original archetype, represented the angels as wingless. The fact that the smaller groups within Group II depict the wings in different positions strengthens this supposition.

The costume of the angels in Le1 and P1 is somewhat unusual, and is probably to be explained from the fact that in the original archetype the angels were considered simply in their likeness to men (Figs. 10, 104). Angels generally were clad in long garments, unless, like the archangel Michael in the *Joshua Rotulus*,[4] they were armed. An angel similar to the representation in P1 is found in the Stuttgart Psalter.

The tent in which Sarah is seated resembles the wattled huts to be seen in pastoral scenes on the sarcophagi and other monuments. The *Codex Romanus* contains a hut of this type [5] (cf. Figs. 10, 85). The figures seated in the entrances to the tents in the Jacob episodes of the *Vienna Genesis* should be compared (cf. Figs. 10, 137). The position of Sarah, resting her head on her hand, the arm supported by the other hand, is comparable to these figures of

[1] Stuhlfauth, p. 117, note 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[3] In the Vatican Octateuch (gr. 747) the angels are represented without wings. The other Octateuchs show them with wings. The fact that in one example they are wingless indicates the antiquity of the archetype. Since the angels are winged in the *Cotton Genesis*, the tradition behind the Octateuchs must antedate the Cotton manuscript.

[4] *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, Milan, 1905.

[5] See also the Utrecht Psalter, fol. 84.

the Genesis, and also to that of the seated Virgin on an embroidery of the sixth or seventh century, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum [1] (cf. Figs. 10, 139).

The foregoing comparisons of the manuscripts, scene for scene, Group I to Group II, and the comparison of the iconography with examples of earlier periods, chiefly the fifth and sixth centuries, bring out, above all, two facts: one, that the scenes belonging to the *Psychomachia* proper are close enough to one another to have descended from one archetype; two, that the scenes relating to the *Praefatio* are in some cases so different in Groups I and II that they could not have been derived from one model, nor do they reflect by their iconography and style an archetype consistently of the same period.

Group II in the *Praefatio* finds its closest parallels in monuments of the fifth century and earlier, as in the *Abraham and Isaac* scene, and the profiled altar at which Prudentius prays. Group I, on the other hand, contains one scene, that of *Abraham and Isaac*, the iconography of which seems to have been a later importation to the West, and employs a later type of altar than Group I. Further, in the scene of *Fides crowning the martyrs*, Group II uses the older type of martyrs' attribute, the wreath, while Group I shows a stylized wreath resembling a diadem. Group I substitutes a sixth century type of chariot for the earlier style found in Group II. Group I also employs types, as those of Abraham and Melchisedek, which are of Asiatic origin, and which have so striking a similarity to Asiatic illumination such as that of the sixth century *Gospel of Rabula* and the *Codex Rossanensis*, that they must have been introduced into the Prudentius miniatures after these types had been carried to the artistic centers of the West. Group II, on the other hand, presents none of these Asiatic features, and in style distantly suggests the Hellenistic illumination of Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries, to be seen in the *Vatican Virgil*, and the *Quedlinburg Itala*.[2] When the style of the Reims school is disregarded in Le2, the drawings particularly recall the *Ambrosian Iliad*, a fifth century Greek manuscript in the Alexandrian style (cf. Figs. 45, 50, 142). There is a close connection in the style of representation with the fourth century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (cf. Figs. 49, 50, 63, 136, 141). Here there is great movement in the figures, in contrast to the slower, heavier, and more dignified action of the Asiatic figures (cf. Figs. 13, 14, 141, 142). These characteristics have been transmitted to the Prudentius illuminations.

It seems evident that the archetype of Group I was produced under the influence of a style imported into the West later than the period of the original illustration of the Prudentius. The second archetype must, however, have been derived from the first, since the same scheme of decoration was followed,

[1] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 600.

[2] Berlin, Staatsbibl., Theol. lat. fol. 485; Victor Schultze, *Die Quedlinburger Itala-Miniaturen*, Munich, 1898.

141. S. Maria Maggiore, Mosaic. *Moses sends spies into Canaan; Revolt of the Jews* (Wilpert)

142. Milan, Ambrosian Library, F. 205. *Ambrosian Iliad*, fol. 31v (Ceriani)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

the same number of illustrations introduced, and, in a general way, the same number of figures and grouping was employed. Also the fact that the wingless angels in the Abraham scene were retained in the archetype of Group I, indicates that it was probably made as early as the sixth century, when the concept of the angels as men was still possible to illuminators.

The archetype of Group II was conceivably made in Italy. The extant manuscripts of this group reflect the Latinized Hellenistic tradition. Group I, on the other hand, reflects so much of the sixth century Asiatic style, that one is forced to conclude its archetype was executed in a center where Asiatic influence was strongly felt. Such centers, during the sixth and seventh centuries were located in southern Gaul, North Italy, and closely connected regions.[1] That interest in the works of Prudentius was maintained in this region in the latter part of the fifth and early sixth century, is evident from the works of Gennadius, presbyter of Marseilles, who included a biography and list of the works of Prudentius in his *De Viris Illustribus*. At Marseilles, and other centers of southern Gaul, a strong Asiatic influence was exhibited in the works of art produced,[2] and it is believed that not only were objects of art imported from the East to these centers, which served as models for the native workmen, but that Asiatic workmen themselves were active in the region. The representation of Abraham in Group I, and especially in the admirable copy P1, is so convincingly Asiatic, that its prototype could well have been executed by an Eastern artist working in the West, or by a Western artist closely trained under the tutelage of Asiatic craftsmen. Being given the task of copying the illustrations of the *Psychomachia* from a fifth century model in the Latinized Hellenistic style, he adhered closely to the iconography of his model in such scenes as were new to him in the *Psychomachia* proper, changing only the style of figures, the movement within the scenes, and the types, to that of his own art, and introducing such minor items as the diadem for the wreath, and the later style of chariot. In the first scene of the *Praefatio*, of *Abraham and Isaac*, however, he substituted the iconography and style familiar to him for that of his model, and placed Prudentius at prayer before a then more common type of altar. A similar transformation of the Latin tradition of the Terence illustrations by a Greek miniaturist of the fifth century, has recently been advanced as the explanation of the peculiar style, close even in the Carolingian copy to that of Asiatic manuscripts such as the *Vienna Genesis* and the *Codex Rossanensis*, of the miniatures of the *Vatican Terence*.[3]

The Asiatic style stamped itself more or less indelibly in the Prudentius

[1] E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 187–206; Marion Lawrence, in *Art Bulletin*, X, (1927); Louis Bréhier, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XII (1903), 1–39.

[2] E. Baldwin Smith, *op. cit.*

[3] C. R. Morey, *I Miniatori del Terenzio illustrato della Biblioteca Vaticana, Rendiconti della Ponteficia Accademia di Archeologia*, IV (1926), 27 ff.

tradition of Group I, and was retained in fairly pure form in those examples produced close to the center of its origin. The Italian model of the fifth century, with its Latinized Hellenistic style, was subjected to many changes in the more vigorous North to which it was carried, particularly in the school of Reims. The importance of this division of the Prudentius tradition into a Northern and a Southern version is increased by the fact that a similar fate was the lot of the illustrations of the Comedies of Terence. From the same archetype is derived the *Ambrosian Terence*, with miniatures in a style resembling the Prudentius drawings in Le1 of Group I, and the *Parisinus*, whose illustrations are in a manner close to those of the Utrecht Psalter. The far reaching consequences of the dichotomy of early mediaeval style thus illustrated and demonstrated, have been sketched in C. R. Morey's *Sources of Mediaeval Style.*[1]

The death of Prudentius, about 410, forms a *terminus a quo* for the first illustrated copy of the Prudentius manuscript. The wingless angels of the *Abraham* scene establish a *terminus ad quem* of the end of the sixth century. Between these dates the two archetypes *A* and *B* must have been executed.

Title Inscriptions and Glosses

Stettiner published the title inscriptions which accompany the illustrations of the *Psychomachia* from all the manuscripts except P3.[2] These fall into the following fairly distinct groups indicating a common origin or development: C, Lo2, P1 and M; Le2, B1 and V; Ly, B2, Be, B3 and K.[3]

In Le1 the illustrations and text are separated, that is, the illustrations appear together and the text is continuous. In the margins of the text, at the places where the pictures generally occur, is a set of titles which is related to the series used in the manuscripts of Group II of the Le2 class. A second hand has made additions to these titles, some of which follow a model like that used by P2. The titles which stand with the illustrations are, however, different from those in any other manuscript. They are generally short, and taken directly from the text, so that the errors which occur in other manuscripts with scenes (34), (65) and (67), which Stettiner cites as evidence for the reworking of the archetype,[4] are avoided here, and only the error with scene (39) remains, in which Humilitas instead of Spes *ascendit in caelum.*

We have seen that the illustrations in Le1 are closer to the archetype *B* than those of any other manuscript. The titles in Le1, which accurately and briefly describe the scenes, probably came from the same archetype *B*, and represent the earliest and most correct form in which they are extant; they are of quite the same character as the inscriptions accompanying the minia-

[1] *Art Bulletin*, (VII), 1924.
[2] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, Part III.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 205.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 205–206.

tures of the Itala of Quedlinburg, dating in the fifth century. Stettiner does not seem to connect these with the archetype, and must have believed that they were written by the illuminator of Le1. His discussion of the inscriptions is concerned only with the longer and inaccurate titles contained in the other manuscripts.

Stettiner arrived at the conclusion that both the titles and the illuminations descended from a seventh century reworked model of the Prudentius. He found it necessary to suppose a seventh century archetype for the four reasons discussed below:

(1) In scene (2), *Lot captured from Sodom*, five kings have been represented, in most of the mansucripts, instead of the biblical four. The illustration is accompanied, in most cases, by a title inscription stating that five kings captured Lot. In some of the manuscripts there is also a marginal gloss comparing the five kings to the five natures of man. This gloss was taken from the Commentary on Genesis written by Isidore of Seville, who died in 637.[1] Stettiner assumed that the five kings of the illustrations were dependent on the gloss, and, therefore, contained in a model executed after 637.

But a consideration of the illustrations whose titles do not specifically say there were five kings, throws light on the probable appearance of the first illustration in *A* and in *B*. The manuscript Ly, which we have seen was derived from the model *R*, and is, therefore, close to *A*, represents only four kings, although a portion of the gloss concerning the five has been added in the margin (Fig. 38). At the bottom of the same folio on which this scene appears, a man on horseback has been represented driving a flock of animals and a group of captives. In the manuscript P2, where again only four kings are shown, a figure on foot in the lower part of the picture drives a flock and two captives (Fig. 49). The title in this manuscript is, *Loth captus de Sodomis*. Le1, which we have seen is closest to the archetype *B*, has the title, *Loth captus ab hostibus*. The scene is represented here by two figures on horses at the left, the group of Lot and the captives in the center; next, three figures on horses, one with his head turned toward the captives; and, finally, in the lower corner at the right, the flock of animals (Fig. 41). It is very probable that one of the three forward figures on horseback was a servant or attendant, who drove the flock and marshalled the captives (cf. Figs. 38, 41). The scene in *B* must have been crowded, and perhaps a little indistinct, so that the copies of *B* were confusing. The gloss based on Isidore probably entered the Prudentius tradition in *T*, and produced the subsequent inclusion of the attendant with the kings.[2] Unfortunately P1 has lost the portion of the man-

[1] *Quaestiones in vet. testam.*, cap. xi; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 83, col. 239.

[2] The reason for Isidore's error has probably never been satisfactorily explained. It should be noted that the biblical account of the battle of the kings (Genesis xiv) is of four kings with five.

uscript containing this scene. In the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, which descended through *T*, the title inscription has been changed, under the influence of the gloss, to read: *Ubi quinque reges predati sunt Loth.* It should be noticed, however, that in each of these manuscripts one of the five figures has been allotted the work of tending the captives.

Unillustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* containing the glosses are abundant. In the ninth century a commentary on the poems was written, which Goldast ascribes to the monk Iso of St. Gall.[1] This commentary also compares the five kings with the five natures of man, and was probably based on Isidore's version. Iso's gloss is found in the manuscript Be. Closely related with the glosses of Be, are those found in B3, K and B2. Only B2 contains the scene of Lot's capture. This version of the glosses attributed to Iso may have entered the model *X*. One cannot, however, speak of separate redactions of the glosses, since there is close connection between those in both groups of manuscripts. They were probably the result of an accumulative process.

(2) In scene (24), *Ira kills herself*, a sword is used for the suicide instead of the *missile* mentioned in the text. Stettiner believes that this error was due to the seventh century reworking of the model. But the error does not occur in any of the manuscripts of Group II; Ira here employs a dart (cf. Figs. 93, 112, 113). It would be strange to find the mistake corrected throughout this group, if, as Stettiner believes, both groups came from the same incorrect archetype. Group II, we have seen from the new stemma, was derived from *A*, the first illustrated copy. Hence there was no error. Group I was derived from *B*, where the sword was substituted for the dart. The sword is seen in the manuscripts Le1, C and Lo3 of Group I. In Lo1 and Lo2 the error was corrected.

(3) There are some inconsistencies in the drawings of the episodes relating to Ira. She is clothed sometimes in long and sometimes in short garment, with a helmet and without. This inconsistency was the result of the seventh century revision, according to Stettiner. But the inconsistency is confined to Group I, with the exception of one portrayal of Ira in Be and B2. In these manuscripts the representation of Ira is so different from those in the other manuscripts that it is highly probable it was due to the hand which executed *X*. The change in costume in Group I can be explained on the same grounds as the foregoing problem of the introduction of the sword.

(4) The titles also present errors, as in scene (41), *Luxuria hears the battle trumpets*, where the text describes Luxuria's chariot going to battle *lapsanti per vina et balsama gressu . . . ad bellum . . . ibat*, while the title uses the word *currit*. Again in scene (34) the text describes the joy of Humilitas at the fall of Superbia *comi moderatur gaudia vultu*, but the title says, *Humilitas deridet*

[1] Stettiner, *op. cit.*, p. 211; Migne, *op. cit.*, vol. 121, col. 779 f.

Superbia. In scene (39) the title mentions Spes as flying to heaven, while the text names Humilitas. The manuscript Le1, which, it was stated above, contains the briefest and most accurate titles, and therefore probably the oldest, has only the last mentioned error concerning Spes. It is a simple mistake that any scribe who was entering the titles, after a cursory glance at the text, might have made, and could as easily date back to the first illustrated copy as to a later reworking.

The other errors mentioned appear in both groups of manuscripts, so that the titles containing these errors must have descended from a common model. That unillustrated copies of the *Psychomachia*, containing titles and glosses, existed along with the illustrated versions, was shown in the discussion of the archetypes of P2 and Le2. Such a manuscript must have been used where the model *T* was made, and a manuscript with the same or similar titles must have come to the scriptorium where *R* was prepared. The manuscript was not necessarily without illustrations, but, if illustrated, the drawings were disregarded at one place or the other. Other errors and many variations in the titles accrued along the way to the extant manuscripts.

A SPANISH ALTAR FRONTAL IN THE GUALINO COLLECTION

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

1. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Ensemble (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

A SPANISH ALTAR FRONTAL IN THE GUALINO COLLECTION

By WALTER W. S. COOK

The early altar frontals of Spain have been practically unknown in Italy and until recently there were no known examples in the private or public collections of the peninsula. Two interesting antependia, however, have now been acquired by the well-known Italian collector, Sig. Gualino, and are on exhibition (1928) in the Gallery at Turin.[1] Both panels were found in Spain and are thoroughly representative products of the early Spanish school; one, of the fourteenth century, belongs to the school of Navarre; the other is of the Catalan school of the thirteenth century.

Perhaps the most interesting of these two Spanish antependia is the earlier panel (Fig. 1), the exact provenance of which is unknown. It was first called to my attention in 1926, when it was sent to America by a Spanish art dealer. It was exhibited for several months in the Spanish Building at the Sesquicentennial Exposition in Philadelphia and at the close of the exposition was returned to Spain.[2]

The panel is in an unusually good state of preservation and shows no signs of modern restoration.[3] Vertical bands of stucco ornament divide the composition into three equal sections: a central compartment with the figure of the Enthroned Saviour and lateral compartments with twelve standing figures of apostles.

The seated figure of the *Majestas Domini* in the central compartment is enclosed within a pointed mandorla which is embellished with a split lozenge and roundel pattern in stucco relief. The Saviour (Frontispiece) is depicted with an orange crossed nimbus, dark red hair and beard, long yellow tunic and dark red mantle. On the left knee He holds a green book of the Gospels, the cover of which is embellished with a quincunx pattern; the right hand is raised in benediction. The orange throne is supported by two yellow uprights, and the orange bolster is ornamented at each end with a foliate pattern. His feet rest

[1] Lionello Venturi, *Alcune opere della collezione Gualino esposte nella R. Pinacoteca di Turino*, (Milan, 1928), pls. 7, 8.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. Fiske Kimball, Director of the Museum at Philadelphia, who notified me of the arrival of this work in America, and to the Spanish Embassy at Washington for permission to study and obtain photographs of it. The photographic negatives were made for me through the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library of New York City.

[3] It measures 1.58 × 1.04 m.

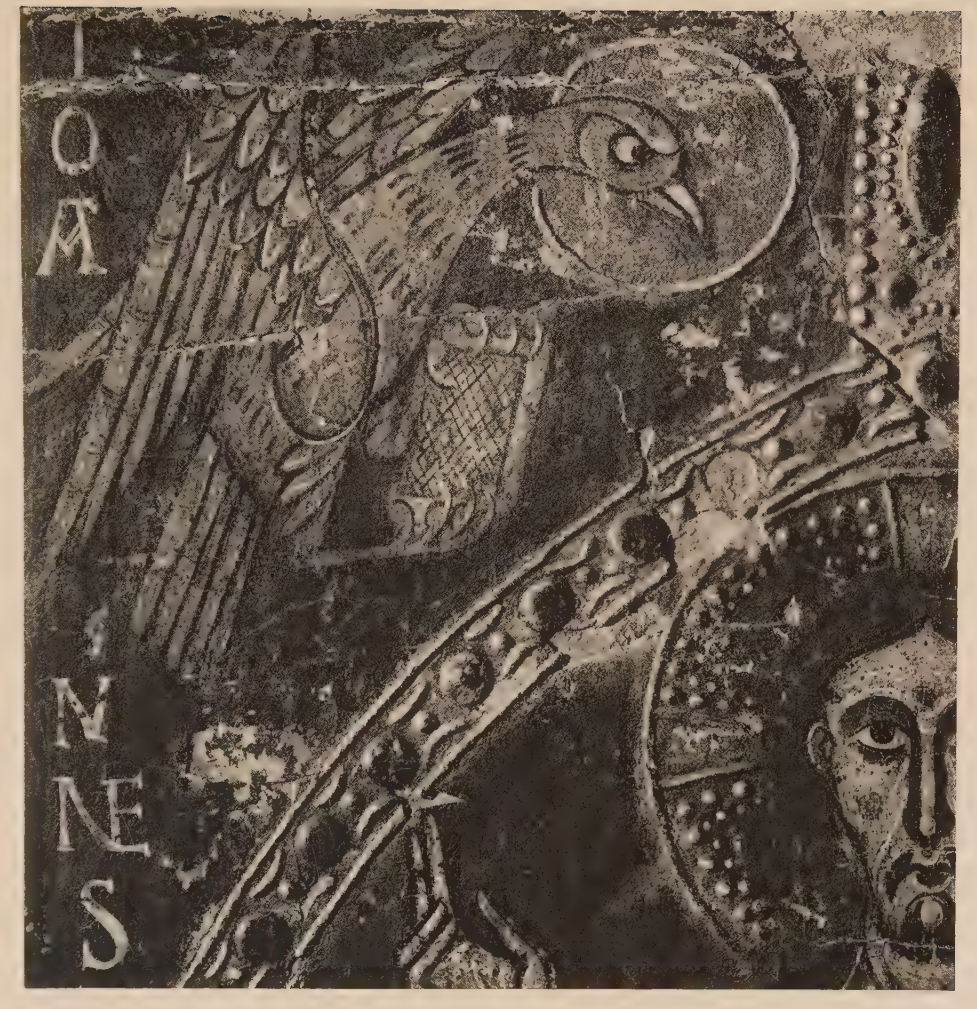
on a yellow segment of the earth and beneath is yellow and green foliage. The figure is silhouetted against a plain, dark green background.

The four symbols of the evangelists are shown in the spandrels outside the mandorla; in the upper left (Fig. 2), the eagle of St. John (IOANNES), with green nimbus, yellow body and green wings; in the upper right (Fig. 3), the angel of Matthew (MATEVS), with green nimbus, green tunic, green mantle and yellow wings; in the lower left, the ox of St. Luke (LVCAS), with orange nimbus and yellow body; in the lower right, the lion of St. Mark (MARCVS), with red nimbus and yellow wings. The symbols in the upper spandrels are shown against an orange background and the lower two against a green background.

The lateral compartments are subdivided into upper and lower registers by a narrow band of stucco ornament, consisting of large green lozenges, red roundels and pearls. Each register contains three apostles who stand under an arcade in gesso relief. The round arches contain roundel and pearl ornament and are supported by capitals with a foliate motive and these rest on spiral columns with high bases. In the upper registers the spandrels of the arches are orange and the apostles are relieved against a green background; in the lower registers the spandrels are green and the background is orange. Each of the apostles holds a book of the Gospels in one hand, and the other is raised in an attitude of teaching or speech.

The apostle St. James (IACOBVS) appears as the first figure in the upper left register (Fig. 4). He has a yellow nimbus, yellow tunic and dark red hair. The beardless St. John (IOANNES) is shown at the right, with orange nimbus and green mantle. St. Peter (PETRVS) with the double keys stands nearest the Saviour on His right. He is portrayed with white hair and beard, long yellow tunic and a violet-red mantle. St. Bartholomew (BARTOLOMEUS) is shown at the Saviour's left, in the upper right register (Fig. 5). He is depicted with brown hair and beard, yellow tunic and red mantle. At his right stands St. James the Less (IACOBUS?) with orange nimbus, dark red hair and green mantle. St. Jude (IVDAS) appears at the extreme right. He wears a yellow nimbus and red mantle and has dark red hair and beard.

St. Thomas (TOMAS), the beardless apostle at the extreme left in the lower left register, is portrayed with a green nimbus, yellow hair and dark green mantle. St. Paul (PAVLVS), on the right, wears a yellow nimbus and red mantle and has light brown hair and beard. St. Matthew (MATEVS), nearest the Saviour, is shown with a green nimbus and red mantle. St. Simon (SIMON) is shown nearest the Saviour in the lower register at the right (Fig. 6). He wears a green nimbus, yellow tunic and green mantle, and is beardless. St. Andrew (ANDREAS), shown with yellow nimbus and red hair and beard, is clad in a violet-red mantle. The last figure, St. Philip (PHILIPVS), is portrayed with a green nimbus and dark green mantle.



2. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Evangelistic symbol of St. John (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

3. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Evangelistic symbol of St. Matthew (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

4. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostles (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

The upper surfaces of the narrow frame are richly embellished on all four sides in gesso relief. At top and bottom the motive consists of a rinceau; the sides are decorated with red and green lozenges, arranged in diamond fashion and alternating with roundels. This is interrupted at regular intervals by circular medallions enclosing a bird with spread wings. The sloping bevel of the frame contains a four-leaf foliate pattern on an orange ground.

From the standpoint of composition this panel offers nothing new. The arrangement of the *Majestas Domini* and evangelistic symbols in the central compartment, with the twelve apostles placed under arcades in the side compartments, is analagous to that found on many Catalan altar frontals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, now preserved at Vich and Barcelona. There are few antependia, however, in which the colors are so well preserved, and the alternation of reds and oranges, yellows and dark greens in the backgrounds and in the drapery is one of the most attractive features of this work. Especially effective is the use of dark reds and greens on the lozenges and roundels of the stucco ornament. The obvious attempt on the part of the artist to imitate the effect of precious stones—emeralds and rubies—gives the work a sparkling quality and demonstrates how successfully the technique of stucco could be employed by the Spanish artist.

Although the provenance of this panel is unknown, the manner in which the stucco ornament is strictly confined to the architectural details is a strong indication that the panel came from northeast Catalonia. The absence of stucco in the backgrounds and in the modelling of the figures would point toward an atelier in the Plana de Vich or the diocese of La Seu de Urgell, rather than to the diocese of Lérida, or the school of Aragon.

The Catalan school is suggested by the figure and drapery style. The seated figure of Christ in the central compartment is vaguely reminiscent of the *Majestas Domini* in two twelfth-century altar frontals from La Seu de Urgell in the Barcelona Museum.[1] The head is less archaic but the Saviour's tunic is wrapped loosely over the right arm in much the same fashion, and the feet rest on a segment of a circle with growing foliage underneath. Even closer resemblances are shown to the mural paintings of upper Catalonia. The elongated head of Christ and the narrow, pinched features of the apostles are closely analogous to many figures found in the Spanish frescoes, now transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona. The yellow tunics that flare outward at the bottom, as if blown by a gentle breeze, betray the lingering traditions of the French style, a mannerism frequently found in Romanesque Catalan mural painting, and especially well illustrated by the series from Sant Miquel de la Seu de Urgell.[2]

[1] Cf. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (II)*, in *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, figs. 1, 2.

[2] *Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, pls. VII–X.

SPANISH ALTAR FRONTAL IN GUALINO COLLECTION

There is little evidence by which this altar frontal in the Gualino collection can be accurately dated. The sophisticated handling of the stucco ornament and the developed form of the rinceau ornament on the frame show this to be the work of a mature artist. The form of the letters in the inscriptions is fully developed and the slender, graceful figures are almost Gothic in feeling. The shading of the face betrays the influence of Italo-Byzantine models. This influence became increasingly common in Catalonia about the middle of the thirteenth century, and it is highly probable that the Gualino panel was executed about that date. It is an unusually fine example of the fully developed Romanesque style in Spain.[1]

[1] For other examples of Romanesque panel painting in Spain see Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia,* in *The Art Bulletin,* V, 85 ff.; VI, 31 ff.; VIII, 57 ff., 195 ff.; X, 153 ff.; 305 ff.; and Cook, *The Stucco Altar Frontals of Catalonia,* in *Art Studies,* II, 41–81.

5. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostle St. Bartholomew. Detail (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

6. Turin, Gualino Collection: Catalan altar frontal. Apostle St. Simon. Detail (Photo. Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

A GOTHIC REWORKING OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS

1. Mantua. Cathedral. Sarcophagus

2. Verona. S. Giovanni in Valle. Sarcophagus

3. Restoration of Sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral

A GOTHIC REWORKING OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS [1]

By MARION LAWRENCE

While attempting to classify stylistically and chronologically the columnar sarcophagi of the Early Christian period, a seven-arch sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral first drew my attention as far later in style than the others. It is known only from an inaccurate drawing of Garrucci's,[2] and this probably accounts for its unchallenged [3] position among fourth-century sculpture.

It is a large tomb of fine white marble, carved upon three sides; the fourth is rough-hewn. The cover (Fig. 1), although of a peculiar type, is not unique, as it is merely a slightly more elaborate form of the one on the "city gate" sarcophagus in Tolentino.[4] The sarcophagus in S. Giovanni in Valle at Verona (Fig. 2), however, affords the closest comparison with our scenes. Both Daniel killing the serpent and the problematic and unusual scene of a personage pointing to a large dog [5] appear here and on the cover at Verona. The Nativity, with the Christ Child in a crib under the roof of the shed and the Virgin seated at one side, the ox and ass and a single shepherd at the other, is found in the same form in the small sections of two strigillated sarcophagi at Arles.[6] The scenes of the acroteria, in each case Christ accompanied by two

[1] I wish to thank Professor C. R. Morey of Princeton University for his valuable criticism and advice during the preparation of this paper, and Professor A. K. Porter of Harvard University for permitting me to study his large collection of photographs.

[2] *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana* (Prato, 1879), vol. V, Pls. 320/2–4, 321/1, 2.

[3] L. von Sybel, *Christliche Antike* (Marburg, 1909), vol. II, pp. 44–45, note 1, cites it for the rinceau ornament on the podium, the arches resting on corbels, and for the appearance in its backgrounds of the "city gate" motive. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* (Torino, 1927), vol. I, p. 52, mentions it in a list of other Italian sarcophagi which he says are probably derived in iconography and style from Rome but which show regional characteristics. J. Wilpert omits it completely from his recent discussion in the *Art Bulletin* (vol. IX, (1926), pp. 89 ff.: *Early Christian Sculpture: Its Restoration and Its Modern Manufacture.*

[4] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pls. 303/1–3, 304/1; M. Lawrence, *City Gate Sarcophagi* in the *Art Bulletin*, vol. X (1927), p. 11, Fig. 13. The group is so named from the background behind the figures, which consists of a row of city gates crowned with crenellations.

[5] I have been able to find this scene only on these two sarcophagi and in the drawing by Rulman of a lost fragment at Nîmes (E. LeBlant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* [Paris, 1886], p. 114, no. 136). The subject has never been satisfactorily explained. LeBlant believes it to be Simon Magus with the dog that miraculously spoke, citing DeRossi (*Bullettino di arch. crist.*, vol. IV [1882], pp. 107–108) where he quotes the passage describing the incident in a newly discovered fragment of the apocryphal Acts of Peter and Paul. F. Cabrol follows this interpretation (*Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie* vol. III (C), p. 1326); G. Stuhlfauth (*Die Apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst* [Berlin, 1925], pp. 3 ff.) thinks it Peter with the dog of Simon Magus. But it seems a strange theme to place upon a sarcophagus as pendant to Daniel. Garrucci (*op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 58) earlier had suggested that it might be Jeremiah before the sheepfold signifying the Church of the Circumcision; but if so, this is the only scene in which he figures in Early Christian art.

[6] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pls. 310/4, 399/1.

apostles, appear on the "Bethesda" sarcophagus in the Lateran,[1] and a parallel for the two figures holding the inscription plate occurs on a sarcophagus with level entablature in Arles.[2]

The gabled ends of the cover are decorated with the Constantinian monogram in a wreath on the left end, while the other shows merely a circle that was never carved. The iconography is thus characteristically Early Christian, showing affinity with the later variations of the "city gate" group. I see no evidence that any of the figures have been recut and therefore will dismiss the cover from further discussion. With the inscription clearly legible on the central *tabella* I shall deal later.

The trough, on the contrary, even upon first glance shows many peculiarities. The front (Fig. 1) has been badly damaged, and of the Christ and the three apostles upon his left only the feet remain.[3] All the heads except three have been broken off and those that are left are much mutilated. The curtain under Christ's feet is unique, while the foliate designs in the spandrels, the form of the capitals and the substitution of corbels for columns are without precedent on Early Christian sarcophagi.[4] Finally, on the right appears the skirt of a small donor, although on the left there is no evidence of the male figure that should balance it. A careful examination of the sarcophagus immediately shows evidence of recutting. The curtain is concave in the centre and at the sides. The left foot of St. Paul is in very low relief indeed, much lower than any other foot on the sarcophagus, and there is every reason to think that a small donor originally embraced the right foot of Christ. The spandrels also are extremely flat and here we find even more conclusive signs of reworking, namely a few drill-holes, meaningless in the present design but easily explained as part of the former pattern, which went too deep into the marble to be completely cut away. From the position of these and the outline of the general mass of stone remaining, I believe the Mantua sarcophagus originally showed two birds pecking at a central basket as we find them in the spandrels of the Probus sarcophagus [5] and on a fragment at Clermont-Ferrand.[6] This is borne out by the decoration of the two corners, where we find a single bird pecking at an overturned basket; to be noted are the drill-holes that separate bird and

[1] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, Pl. 314/5; O. Marucchi, *I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio-Lateranense* (Milan, 1910), Pl. XIX, 2; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, Fig. 34.

[2] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 343/3; E. LeBlant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la Ville d'Arles* (Paris, 1878), Pl. IV; *Gaule*, Pl. XXI, 2.

[3] This serious mutilation of the sarcophagus may have occurred in any one of its moves recorded by Donismondi (*Dell'ist. eccles. di Mantova* [Mantova, 1812], vol. I, p. 286) and recounted by Garrucci (*op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 39). It seems that it was taken from the Church of S. Agnese, when that was destroyed in 1776, to the Cathedral; while the Cathedral was being restored, it was placed temporarily in the Museum.

[4] The latter feature, however, appears on the fourth side of the Sidamara sarcophagus (C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, vol. V, Pt. 1; *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi*, ill. 66).

[5] Now in the Museo di S. Pietro in Rome. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 325/1–4.

[6] LeBlant, *Gaule*, Pl. XVII.

basket. The conch shells have been tampered with but not so fundamentally changed.

The capitals, however, have been completely recut. Behind the apostle on the extreme left we find part of the original type, a volute with an acanthus leaf below it. Drill-holes and the outline of the former capital still visible on the background prove that the present form replaces the ordinary composite capital of the fourth century with its acanthus leaves, band of bead-and-reel ornament, and a section of egg-and-dart merging into the volutes.[1] The outline of the columns behind the figures also remains. The few heads of the apostles that survive are smaller than the original cutting and again are marred by drill-holes. In the case of the third apostle from the left the recutter has left a large and formless mass of stone where the left cheek adheres to the background and marks of a beard, now cut away, appear under the right ear. We further find that all the figures are extremely narrow from the waist down, out of all proportion to the upper half of the body. I believe we are safe, therefore, in assuming that the skirts at least have been reworked and probably rearranged in the case of the three apostles immediately to the left of St. Paul. Finally, the beard of the second figure from the right shows a technique far removed from the heavily curled beard of classic or Early Christian times but very similar to those worn by the men on the right end of our sarcophagus. To cover the more obvious drill-holes and crudities the second sculptor evidently painted his whole work, since a number of the inlying parts still retain traces of color.

Using the evidence outlined above I have drawn a restoration of the original composition (Fig. 3). Capitals, columns and spandrels follow the marks remaining on the marble. One can certify also the donors. Christ stands on the mount which usually shows the four rivers. His head is too high to have been contained within the arch, indicating the arrangement of my restoration, which is the more frequent one, with the scene of Christ on the mount and the twelve apostles, that is, a section of a concave entablature behind the head of Christ.[2] Peter, at the right, commonly carries a jewelled cross in this scene and receives the scroll of the new law.[3] The rinceau ornament of the podium has been left, but the archivolts, now planed smooth, were probably worked in the original.[4] This scene is common in members of the "city gate" group but

[1] See the Probus sarcophagus, and Lawrence, *op. cit.*, Fig. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 32. Outside of the "city gate" group, this motive occurs on sarcophagi in the Lateran and the Louvre; at St. Honorat, Ile de Lérins; Arles; Aix; Marseilles; and in the Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pls. 335/2, 343/2, 329/2, 335/2; LeBlant, *Gaule*, Pl. LII, 2; Garrucci, vol V, Pls. 346/1, 330/5. Only the second and third of this list show all twelve apostles.

[3] Compare the "city gate" group and sarcophagi at Arles; Rome (Lateran); Rome (S. Paolo); Marseilles; and Rome (Grotte Vaticane). Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pls. 335/2, 335/4, 341/2, 332/1, 330/5. It is also very common on the Ravenna sarcophagi.

[4] Plain archivolts are very rare on columnar sarcophagi, and when they occur, there is usually other evidence

Christ with the twelve apostles appears on other seven-arch sarcophagi, most notably the one at Saint-Honorat, Ile de Lérins, and another in the cloister of S. Paolo *fuori le mura* in Rome.[1]

Turning to the left end of the Mantua sarcophagus (Fig. 4) we feel even more clearly its unantique character. Uninjured except in very minor details it affords better criteria for a study of its transformed style than the much-mutilated front. As before, the capitals have been recut and a few drill-holes still remain at irregular intervals. The rather squat columns or pilasters of the fourth century have been pared down to extreme thinness and have become hexagonal colonnettes, a feature decidedly not antique. Crenellated battlements fill the spandrels and cover the side arches recalling at once the battlements of the "city gate" type; an exact parallel for the juxtaposition of central arch, overturned baskets in the spandrels and city gates is afforded by a sarcophagus of the "mixed" type at Verona (Fig. 2) already cited as a comparison for the iconography of the cover. Whether the detail of the archivolt was never finished or whether it was later cut away it is impossible to tell, but the base line of the arc shows at least that a conch was intended. The little windows in the towers at the right are crowned with *pointed* arches.

All the heads have been recut and traces of their original size remain on the background; that of Moses receiving the law has been cut down some three cm., the others not so much. Two holes have been blocked up in the central background between the husband and wife and there are chisel marks which seem to indicate that something has been cut away, possibly the head of Juno Pronuba. Although unusual, such iconography is not without precedent in Christian sculpture as it appears on a double register "strigil" sarcophagus in the Lateran.[2] Meaning has completely deserted the figure in the left niche. If one compares the similar end of the "city gate" sarcophagus at Ancona (Fig. 6), it is natural to suppose that the pendant to Moses was originally Abraham sacrificing Isaac. The small figure of Isaac on the altar was cut away with all the paraphernalia of the scene, and a rather formless *scrinium* replaced the ram on the left.

The scenes of this end thus become perfectly reasonable. The husband and wife in the *manuum junctio* appear on the fourth side of the sarcophagus at Ancona (Fig. 7) and in a similar position on the tomb of Probus, where the

that the marble was not finished. A broken-down form of the Lesbian cymation or a decadent acanthus foliation is the most common ornament; an undulating ribbon pattern is also often used (see Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 33).

[1] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 329/2; LeBlant, *Gaule*, Pl. LIX, 2. Garrucci, vol. V, Pl. 341/2.

[2] Garrucci, vol. V, Pl. 361/1. The marriage group with Juno Pronuba also was originally the central feature of the double-register frieze sarcophagus of which now only a fragment exists in the Villa Doria-Pamfili at Rome. It has been wrongly restored (see Wilpert, *op. cit.*, Figs. 10, 11, p. 98). The theme is also found on three other "strigil" sarcophagi, which present, however, no Christian scenes other than the Good Shepherd (at Montebuono; Rome, Campo Santo Tedesco and S. Silvestro). *Röm. Quartal.*, vol. XVI (1902), p. 23, Fig. 6; vol. XIII (1899), p. 25, Pl. III; *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.*, vol. XIV (1908), p. 121, no. 57.

4. Mantua. Cathedral. Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus

5. Mantua. Cathedral. Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

6. Ancona. Cathedral. Left Face of Sarcophagus

7. Ancona. Cathedral. Detail of back of Sarcophagus

8. Restoration of Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral

9. Paris. Louvre. St. Geneviève

wife holds her veil in much the same manner as at Mantua.[1] In neither of these, however, does the child appear, although on the sarcophagus with the two registers of strigils of the Lateran, already cited, we find the small Hymenaeus as the companion of Juno Pronuba. I have reconstructed this end (Fig. 8) with particular regard to the arrangement of the drapery. The costume of the wife is at present peculiarly unantique. Never in classic times does a woman appear in a long-waisted blouse although it is common enough in the mediaeval period. Nor would her mantle fall off her arm behind her as it does here although this recalls instantly the arrangement of the cloak of the early Gothic statue of St. Geneviève now in the Louvre (Fig. 9). The wife's figure is preternaturally slender and must have been considerably pared down. I have reconstructed her costume, following largely that of the wife at Ancona; little alteration is needed to make it characteristically Early Christian. It appears that the later sculptor has added the fine gathers, the waistline of the blouse and the finely wrinkled, tight sleeve. The folds at the bottom of the skirt are probably original or follow the original lines except where they have been smoothed out over the legs, while the loop above the right knee has been carved out of the original cloak. Antique mantles are also usually thrown back farther on the head and reveal the hair; the present cap-like arrangement is common in Gothic art. When we try to isolate the style of the artist who recut the sarcophagus, such careful analysis immediately becomes important, for without it we should find ourselves ascribing to him elements that rightfully belong to the Early Christian original.

The husband probably wore the toga and not the chlamys that this would seem to be;[2] in any case it is completely misunderstood as it develops a sleeve for the left arm and is cut at the neck like a paenula, instead of being fastened on the shoulder with a clasp. The strange, uncertain cutting over the knees has been added although the folds between the legs remain from the Early Christian figure.[3] In the right-hand niche Moses has been made more slender, the sleeve of his right arm has been made smaller and given more shape than the ordinary baggy sleeve of the classic tunic, but most significant of all are the circular folds around the neck and the same long, rolling loops on the right leg that we noted in the wife. In the figure of Abraham, although the hands

[1] Other examples of the *manuum junctio* group on Christian sarcophagi are: the four-arch sarcophagus at Arles, with the Dioscuri and with Christian scenes solely on the ends (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 361/2–4; LeBlant, *Arles*, Pls. XXIII, XXIV), and the husband and wife in a medallion on the fourth side of the sarcophagus at Tolentino (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 304/1). It also occurs on several fragments of "strigil" sarcophagi in Rome.

[2] The husband wearing the chlamys is very unusual in the *manuum junctio* and seems to appear only when the group is represented twice on the same sarcophagus as at Arles, Tipasa and Rome (Villa Albani); Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 361/2–4; Gsell, *École Française de Rome: Mélanges*, vol. XIV (1894), p. 445, Pl. VI; Zoëga, *Bassirilievi*, vol. II, p. 295, no. LXXXVII.

[3] The small opening at the neck finds its mate in the chlamys of the man leading a child on the "Red Sea" sarcophagi in the museums at Aix and Arles (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pls. 308/2, 309/2).

have been somewhat changed, of the drapery only the tunic and right sleeve have been recut and the outline of the right hip against the background.

The heads, I think, get their peculiar shape from the original triangular, bulging head of the Asiatic style found on the "city gate" sarcophagi.[1] From this comes the low forehead and the large, high-placed ear. All details, however, have been reworked and the striated technique of rendering the hair is solely the work of the second sculptor.

The right end (Fig. 5) has been similarly recut. The ornament follows closely that of the other end except that here we have indented "Ghibelline" battlements[2] as well as pointed arches as an evidence of date. A group representing the deceased woman, probably orant, and accompanied on either hand by a man wearing a chlamys, forms the subject of this end and is comparable to the groups of the deceased with his attendants that we find on the "city gate" sarcophagi in Milan, Paris and Ancona (Fig. 6). Something has very evidently been cut away to the right of the woman, for, aside from the awkward space, the surface of the marble is seen to be differently weathered even in the photograph.[3] The classic costume also has been altered, most glaringly in the case of the man in the niche to the left. He wears a chlamys and carries a scroll in his veiled left hand and is in just the same attitude as the deceased on the ends of the sarcophagi cited above in Milan, Paris and Ancona (Fig. 6). But his chalmys, instead of falling naturally in circular folds from his neck as on the figure to the right, is here puckered in parallel, longitudinal gathers down to the waist-line, where it suddenly and most illogically assumes the natural cascade. The man in the chlamys to the right seems, on the contrary, to retain almost completely his original form with the exception of the head. The veiled left hand appears commonly on the "Red Sea" sarcophagi and we find the same diagonal swing of the mantle across the body, revealing the fall of the cloak behind the ankles, on the deceased of a "city gate" sarcophagus in the Louvre. The costume of the woman is illogical in the extreme: a heavy mantle restrains her outstretched right arm, its folds held on the left hip solely by the pressure of the wrist against the breast. This gesture is in itself not antique and such a costume, with tight-fitting sleeve and crinkled blouse is altogether unparalleled in the fourth century. A heavy mantle is usually worn by females on the sarcophagi but it hangs from the head instead of from the shoulders. The short separate veil is a later feature. Her right arm might even have been enveloped in the dra-

[1] For a discussion of the Asiatic style on Christian sarcophagi see Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

[2] Forked battlements are a feature of Italian mediaeval architecture occurring on many fortified buildings of the the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. See C. A. Cummings, *History of Architecture in Italy*, vol. I, p. 174; vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

[3] What this might have been, it is impossible to surmise. A *scrinium* seems the likeliest conjecture, although the child of the left end may have been repeated here.

pery, but it would probably have been gathered in a bunch over her left arm as we see it in the orant on the double-register sarcophagus in St. Trophime, Arles.[1] Our woman was probably orant or with outstretched arms. This leaves only her head and veil, the fine folds of the blouse and the gesture of the left hand and arm as the work of the second artist. Although her body is somewhat more slender than it was originally, as one can tell from the marks surrounding it on the marble, the skirt probably retains the original direction and arrangement of the folds.

The heads of all three figures clearly have been recut and are in the manner of the second workman. Even the shapes have been altered, and all suggestion of the triangular heads of the left end is lost. The technique of the hair, although highly conventionalized, differs completely from the drill technique employed almost exclusively on Early Christian sarcophagi. In fact it is significant that the later sculptor uses the chisel apparently to the complete exclusion of the drill.

We find thus that the Mantua sarcophagus was originally of the seven-arch type with a single scene on the front as on many of the other members of the type, that the ends belong rather with the mixed examples of the "city gate" group showing affinity in arrangement with the sarcophagus at Verona (Fig. 2); while the iconography and probably the style as well, was closely related to the "city gate" sarcophagi at Ancona, Milan and Paris and the five-arch sarcophagus of Probus in Rome. Its recutting, as will be evident from a comparative glance at any Early Christian sculpture, took place at a much later date.

The ornament affords us a clue to the period. Pointed arches, forked battlements, slender colonnettes and crocketed capitals are all features of Gothic art and of the thirteenth century. We find hexagonal columns with leaf capitals of a very similar form on two monuments in North Italy both dated in the thirteenth century, namely, the relief of the eight apostles in Milan Cathedral (Figs. 10, 11), and the prophets of the Cappella Zen in S. Marco at Venice (Fig. 27), both of which also show affinity with our sarcophagus in their figure style. A series of arches resting on corbels is also a common element of Romanesque and proto-Gothic ornament.

The general effect of our figures is of something strangely familiar. The proportions approach normal and the skill with which the figures are brought into high relief and the flexible modelling of the surface are superior to anything found between the decline of classical art and the rise of Gothic sculpture. One has only to look at the sculpture in Italy prior to Benedetto Antelami to realize that a date before the thirteenth century would be impossible.[2]

[1] Garrucci, *op. cit.*, vol. V, Pl. 317/2–4; LeBlant, *Arles*, Pl. XXV.

[2] One naturally turns first to sculpture in Mantua itself; but here works of the mediaeval period are singularly rare. The statue of Vergil on the Broletto (Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. III, Fig. 215; Carlo D'Arco, *Delle*

On the other hand we have here none of the stylization of the Romanesque in France.

Keeping clearly in mind the sections of the figures that have been recut and the elements that are retained from the fourth century and must therefore be eliminated, let us see if we can discover the atelier of the second workman. The heads, especially of the right end, are a sure criterion and so is the technique of the hair throughout. The blouses of the figures, the sleeves and particularly the oval loops in the drapery over the knees of the wife and Moses of the left end are all significant.

To start with Master Benedetto,[1] we find that his famous Deposition in Parma Cathedral is too stylized and the prophets of Borgo San Donnino are too heavy in proportion and too archaic in technique to afford much of a comparison. The group of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba on the Baptistery at Parma is closer to our style, but even here Benedetto has not the control over his medium of our artist. His anatomy is more impressive but less sophisticated. The heads at Parma, however, are treated with the plasticity of our master while the unantique striation of the hair and beard, though different in arrangement, is similar. The drapery of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, furthermore, is less stylized than much of Antelami's but is, even so, less emphatic than our master's. The fine gathers over the Queen's breast resemble those of the women at Mantua, but none of the peculiarities of our artist are present there. Benedetto is useful thus solely as a *terminus post quem*. As he was by far the most advanced sculptor of his time in Northern Italy and as the Mantua sarcophagus presents a more developed style, it is evidently of a somewhat later period.

Nor do any of Benedetto's followers account for our style, for although later in date they were less skillful than he and copied largely his mannerisms, so that it is with him rather than our master that their work affords comparisons. Thus one has to dismiss the tympana of S. Andrea, Vercelli and of S. Mercuriale, Forlì and the equestrian figure of Oldrado da Tresseno on the Palazzo della Ragione in Milan, the latter dated by an inscription in 1233.[2]

Benedetto's advanced style can be traced to influence from France, and also showing connection with France is the relief of eight apostles standing

Arti e degli Artefici di Mantova [Mantova, 1857], Fig. 19), although the building it adorns is dated 1227–1230, is much more archaic than any work of Benedetto's and is far removed from the style of our sarcophagus. The other figure of Vergil to-day in the museum is, according to D'Arco, a crude copy made possibly twenty years later than the first (*Ibid.*, Fig. 20, p. 33).

[1] For a discussion of the style and influence of Benedetto and for plates illustrating his work see M. G. Zimmermann, *Oberitalische Plastik* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 104 ff.; Vöge, *Der provençalische Einfluss in Italien u. das Datum des Arler Porticus*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XXV (1902), pp. 409 ff.; Venturi, *Storia*, vol. III, pp. 279 ff.; A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven, 1917), vol. I, pp. 292 ff.; etc. etc.

[2] Venturi, *Storia*, vol. III, Figs. 321, 328, and *Lo Scultore romanico del San Mercuriale di Forlì*, in *L'Arte*, vol. II (1899), pp. 247 ff.; *Storia*, vol. III, Fig. 325, also attributed by Venturi to Benedetto.

10. Milan. Cathedral. Relief

12. Saint-Gilles. West Façade. St. Matthew

11. Milan. Cathedral. Relief

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

13. Arles. St. Trophîme. Cloister.
Detail of St. Trophîme

14. Mantua. Cathedral.
Detail of Right End of Sarcophagus

15. Moulins. Museum. Detail of Figure
of St. John from St. Léger, Ebreuil

16. Toulouse. Museum. Detail of
Gabriel of Annunciation Group.

17. Laon. Cathedral. Reliefs of West Façade

between colonnettes in the wall of the north aisle of the Cathedral of Milan (Figs. 10, 11). I have already cited this monument for the similarity of its hexagonal columns and flat-leafed capital with the ornament at Mantua. It is usually dated in the first half of the thirteenth century.[1] The figure style shows affinity with that of the sarcophagus at Mantua in the general proportions, although the forms are here somewhat broader. We must remember, however, that our artist at Mantua was working with marble already cut and had to adapt his proportions to the material in hand and that the relation of the head to the height of the figure varies with each side. The tunic wrinkles in the same fashion at the neck on the fourth apostle from St. Peter as on the man in the chlamys to the left on the right lateral face of the sarcophagus (Fig. 5). The technique for rendering the hair is also comparable. The locks are treated separately and conventionalized by parallel lines of the chisel as at Mantua. Large snail curls cover the head of St. Peter, but these are in two rows instead of the single row of the man to the right in Fig. 5. The hair is commonly parted in the centre, however, and drawn off the forehead and nowhere do we see the perpendicular arrangement suggesting bangs found at Mantua (Fig. 4).

The apostles at Milan are evidently closely related to the series of apostles standing between pilasters and under a level entablature which adorns the façade of Saint-Gilles in Provence. The resemblance is most striking in proportion, posture and facial types, even to mannerisms of drapery, although the Milanese artist is more restrained and naturalistic. The peculiar crinkled leggings of St. Matthew (Fig. 12) reappear on the two apostles to the left at Milan (Fig. 10) as a sign manual of stylistic origin.

It is with Arles, however, rather than with Saint-Gilles that we find paral-

[1] C. Boito (*Il Duomo di Milano* [Milano, 1889], Pl. 38 pp. 53 f.) discusses the possibility of their being the red marble statues of the twelve apostles given to the Cathedral by Urban III. This would date them before 1187, which is seen to be impossible from stylistic comparison with the reliefs of the Porta Romana and with Benedetto. He suggests that they are perhaps one of the earliest works of the Campione family, who began to work in Modena in 1244. Zimmermann (*op. cit.*, p. 197) dates them, from the degree of individuality in the heads, in the end of the thirteenth or the early fourteenth century! A. Weese (*Die Bamberger Domskulpturen* [Strassburg, 1914], Figs. 35, 36, p. 51) cites them for iconographical comparison with the prophets of the Georgenchor at Bamberg, calls them of the early thirteenth century and draws attention to their likeness to Saint-Gilles. E. Gall in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (vol. XIV, 1921, pp. 1 ff.) returns to the theory that they are the apostles given by Urban III, explaining the contrast in style to the work of the end of the twelfth century in Milan by ascribing them to the same workshop as the pantile of Modena and comparing them with the façade of St. Trophime at Arles. The Modena reliefs, however, are much more archaic, and even in that of the Last Supper, the most advanced of them, the contrast is striking in the proportions and the treatment of the drapery and the heads. The epigraphy which Gall considers so similar contrasts furthermore in the form of several letters, especially the E and A, that on the Milan apostles being much closer to the inscription under the statue of Oldrado da Tresseno of 1233. Toesca (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 770) follows Gall, dating the Milan reliefs 1185–1187 and comparing them with Modena and St. Trophime. The inscription on these reliefs reads HOS DEUS ELEGIT PERQUOS MUNDANA SUBEGIT (Fig. 10) and + CORDIS IDEST CULTOR ES CORCULUS ATQ(UE) TADEUS + ALPHEI JACOBUS EST SUPLANTATOR ALUMNUS on the upper border; . . . STO FRATRES FIDEI COMPAGE SODALES on the lower (Fig. 11). I am indebted to Count Negri of Milan for excellent rubbings and photographs of this inscription which he most kindly procured for me.

lels for our Mantua artist. The head of St. Trophime on the northwest pier of the cloister (Fig. 13) is remarkably like that of the man in the chlamys at the left (Fig. 14) on the left lateral face. The striated treatment of the locks of hair and the cut of the beard, the thick-lipped mouth, high and rather prominent cheek bones, and the placing of the eye in relation to the large, high ear, are all very similar. When one turns to the body, however, immediately all comparison ceases, as the thin and voluminous vestments of St. Trophime are rendered with the stylized and innumerable parallel folds derived from the exquisite Romanesque of Ile-de-France. So that one wonders if here again the similarity in the facial type is due to the Romanesque traditions of the period rather than to the direct influence of any particular master.

The resemblances also existing between heads on the Mantua sarcophagus and two heads, one from Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier (Nièvre) now in Professor Hamann's collection at Marburg, and another from Mantes Cathedral, bear out this conclusion. The peculiar perpendicular bangs of Abraham and the men on the left end (Fig. 4) are also to be found on the figure of St. John in the Museum at Moulins from St. Léger at Ebreuil (Fig. 15),[1] although the figure itself provides little comparison. Beautiful snail curls appear at the end of striated locks in the coiffure of the angel of the Annunciation group from the Eglise des Cordeliers now in the Museum at Toulouse (Fig. 16), which shows us that the hair of the man to the right is also a proto-Gothic tradition.[2] His vis-à-vis on the left finds an excellent parallel in respect to the corrugation of the drapery on his breast in some of the headless figures of the north door of the west façade of Laon Cathedral (Fig. 17).

These reliefs of the thirteenth century lead us to the sculpture of the first School of Reims and here also we find comparisons with our style. The tight, crinkled sleeve of the wife at Mantua occurs in the relief of the bishop and two acolytes and its pendant on the Romanesque portal[3] as well as the striated cap-like hair of Abraham and Moses. The shape of the heads is not dissimilar, with low forehead and high-placed eye, and one realizes that familiarity with a Romanesque style like this made our artist content to leave the heads on the left end of the sarcophagus with the peculiar shape we see to-day.

It is with the early Gothic work of Reims, however, that we approach most nearly our style. The St. Sixtus portal of the north transept shows affinity both in the tympanum and jamb figures (Fig. 18) with our master. The proportions and plastic rendering of the bodies are much the same. The women

[1] It will be noted that here the hair is in locks as on our sarcophagus, which is different from the technique of parallel lines found in other Romanesque work; *i. e.*, the figures of the pulpit in S. Ambrogio, Milan (Venturi, *Storia*, vol. III, Fig. 178), the Basel altar (Dehio u. Bezold, *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Bildhauerkunst*, 12 Jahrh., taf. 7) and the Romanesque figures at Reims cited below.

[2] This is much closer to our technique than the extremely small curls that appear on such Italian monuments as the prophets of Cremona Cathedral (Venturi, *Storia*, vol. III, Figs. 162, 163).

[3] P. Vitry, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, vol. II, Pl. XVI.

18. Reims. Cathedral. St. Sixtus Portal. Ste. Eutropie

19. Bamberg. Cathedral. Georgenchor. Two Prophets

20. Bamberg. Cathedral. Adamstür: Queen Kunigunde

21. Cologne. S. Maria im Kapitol. Detail of Monument of Plectrudis

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

in the Job scene [1] especially suggest the women of the Mantua sarcophagus, but when we press the comparison further we discover it is a general resemblance due to proportion and form rather than to similarity of small details and mannerisms. The same observation is true of the figure of Ste. Eutropie on the jamb (Fig. 18), for, barring her heavy mantle which is gathered tightly around the lower part of her body in many folds, affording no comparison with the fourth-century arrangement of the skirt and lower section of the mantle of our woman of the right end, we see that actually the faces differ in shape and feature although rendered with much the same superficial modelling. The face of the woman at Mantua is much longer and more consistently oval, with little variation in breadth between the brow and the chin. Compared with this, the Reims type seems extremely broad through the eyes, tapering to a slight and narrow chin. The eyes are also much larger in proportion to the face, and one must add in passing that the arrangement of the hair and veil is quite different.

Where shall we find the female head of Reims but with a long, heavy oval instead of an egg-shaped face? The natural stylistic route to follow from Reims is that which leads to Bamberg, and here in fact we find the heavy translation of the French type.[2]

The Madonna of the Gnadentür (Fig. 22) immediately draws our attention, for she has the long, oval face of our lady (Fig. 5) and here we see all the minute characteristics we failed to discover at Reims. Not only have we the same general shape and the same heavy jowl but the small mouth is the same; so also the long nose and the small, closely set eyes. A comparison might similarly be drawn between the head of the wife and that of the Virgin Annunciate of the Georgenchor or the head of Queen Kunigunde of the Adamstür (Fig. 20), where especially the resemblance is marked in the heavy horizontal chin and jaw. Further details also suggest our style. Snail curls, although more freely rendered, appear on the prophets of the Georgenchor (Fig. 19) and the jamb figures of the Fürstenportal. One of the prophets on the north side of the Georgenchor [3] presents a corrugated technique for rendering the hair similar to that employed for the Abraham. The figures both of the sarcophagus and of the early ateliers of Bamberg still retain the Romanesque taper from the upper part of the body toward the feet, with broad shoulders but drapery that clings about the ankles. The very fact that the sculptors at Bamberg change from one scale of proportions to another with little thought suggests the varying head sizes on our sarcophagus. Specifically one should compare the sleeve, the silhouette and the drapery of the hip of St. Peter on the Gnadentür

[1] P. Vitry, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, vol. II, Pl. XXVIII.

[2] This contrast between the shape of the faces at Reims and Bamberg is clearly brought out by Weese's Figs. 119, 120 (*op. cit.*), which place the statues of Mary of the Visitation side by side; but the comparison also holds true for the earlier figures.

[3] Weese, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8.

36369

(Fig. 22) with the same features of Abraham. The drapery on the Bamberg tympanum is archaically treated, revealing the form of the body beneath, and is thereby close to our style at Mantua; a specific resemblance is the peculiar loop we noted in the folds over the legs of Moses and the wife, found in much the same position on the leg of St. Peter. This is a significant point as the motive is undoubtedly derived from the more extreme loops of the drapery of the prophets of the Georgenchor[1] (Fig. 19).

The early sculpture at Bamberg is dated quite securely in the first half of the thirteenth century by the figures of Kaiser Heinrich II and Queen Kunigunde which adorn the Gnadentür. Both the donors wear halos, thus giving us the *terminus post quem* of 1201. The ecclesiastic kneeling behind them may be either Bishop Thiemo or Bishop Ekbert but is more probably the former as he urged the canonization of the Queen. In any case the portal was undoubtedly carved under his successor, Ekbert (1203–1237), in the brilliant period of building sponsored by him.[2]

Contemporary work in Germany reveals the same affinities with our sculptor at Mantua. The veil, forearm and blouse of the figure on the monument of Plectrudis (end of the twelfth century) (Fig. 21) in S. Maria im Kapitol at Cologne is a case in point, and in her also we see the primitive phase of the facial type of which the wife on our sarcophagus is a later development. The more sophisticated mask of Mantua may be compared with those of the Maries of the Calvaries of Halberstadt, Freiberg and Wechselburg, varying from 1220 to 1240.[3] The heavy chin and long face together with a short veil falling to the shoulders and a finely gathered, long-waisted blouse with tight, crinkled sleeves occur in the Madonna from the choir screen of the monastery of Wessobrunn, now in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich,[4] which proves that the costume used by our artist also finds precedent in Germany. The veiled hand retained at Mantua from the Early Christian original is rather rare in sculpture of the mediaeval period although it appears frequently in painting. It is a feature, however, of the style of the early metal shrines of Germany.[5]

It would seem, then, that the master who worked at Mantua was German-trained or at least was strongly influenced by the sculpture of the period in

[1] See particularly Jonah and Hosea (Weese, *op.cit.*, Fig. 4). This is one of the features isolated by Weese as indicative of Languedocian influence in the Georgenchor; but it cannot be found in the School of Toulouse in the precise form that appears on our sarcophagus and at Bamberg.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 77 ff., note 123, and p. 87, note 131. The Georgenchor is undoubtedly a bit earlier, while the arrangement and jamb figures of the Fürstenportal follow immediately after the Gnadentür in the chronology of the Cathedral. Weese assigns all three to the same workshop. The "master of the Adamspforte" is of a later date.

[3] E. Panofsky, *Die Deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Pl. 40; Dehio u. Bezold, *op. cit.*, 13 Jahrh., Pls. 2, 35, 36.

[4] *Ibid.*, 13 Jahrh., Pl. 22.

[5] See the Annoschrein at Siegburg in the Pfarrkirche, the Victorschrein of the Cathedral at Xanten, and the Marienschrein of the cathedral treasure at Aachen.

22. Bamberg. Cathedral. Gnadentür. Tympanum

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

23. Padua. S. Giustina. Tympanum

24. Strassburg. Cathedral. Tympanum

Germany. An examination of some of the monuments of the early thirteenth century in North Italy shows us, moreover, that he was not an isolated phenomenon, since evidence is abundant for the German strain in North Italian sculpture of the time.

The tympanum of the abbey of S. Giustina in Padua (Fig. 23), which since the destruction of the church in the early sixteenth century has been kept in the sacristy, presents strong evidence of German influence. It has been variously treated by archaeologists as the work of a master who recalls Benedetto, or as belonging to the Venetian School, and the close resemblance of the iconography of the Nativity scenes of the lintel to the west front of Chartres and to the Ste. Anne portal of Paris has been often remarked.[1] The style is neither that of Benedetto nor of Chartres, as one has only to study it for a moment to see. The iconography of the architrave is clearly the same as Chartres in the sequence, and the rendering of the scenes and the flowing, filmy draperies of the tympanum make one think immediately of the French atelier. The long, oval face of the woman and the peculiar beards of the two kneeling men are not Chartrain, however, nor is the drapery upon examination. It is smoothed out too much over the protuberances and lacks the repeated, fine parallel ridges of both the west and south portals. The former characteristic, however, appears in the German versions of the Chartres style and particularly is it notable in the sculpture of Strassburg Cathedral. A comparison of the tympanum of the Coronation of the Virgin (c. 1230–1235) (Fig. 24) with S. Giustina at Padua shows amazing similarities. Slightly more archaic and less free in execution than its German parallel, the Paduan relief shows the same plastic quality in the rendering of drapery and the same long, heavy face. It is in Bamberg, however, that we find the facial types and beards of the kneeling men. Compare the prophets of the Georgenchor[2] (Fig. 19) both for their heads and beards and for the circular looping-up of their drapery, the clinging garment outlining the body of St. Peter of the Gnadentür (Fig. 22) with the man at the left in Fig. 5, and the head of Queen Kunigunde of the Adamstür (Fig. 20) with that of the central woman. The Magi of the lintel of S. Giustina also afford parallels with German work as well as the round head with the snail curls of Gabriel of the Annunciation.

[1] Venturi (*Storia*, vol. III, p. 342, Figs. 326, 327) described it as the work of a master who recalls Antelami. Von Gabelentz (*Mittelalterliche Plastik in Venedig* [Leipzig, 1903], pp. 201–204, Figs. 16, 17) believed that it belonged to the Venetian School and connected it with the Adoration of the Magi of S. Maria della Salute in Venice (Fig. 14) and with that of Benedetto at Parma. He saw French influence both in the style and iconography, which he compared with Chartres. Vitzthum u. Volbach (*Die Malerei u. Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien* [Potsdam, 1924], p. 98, Fig. 60) and Toesca (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 771, Fig. 496) follow him and discuss the derivation from France. Von Gabelentz and Vitzthum u. Volbach call the central figure S. Giustina herself. Toesca returns to the earlier interpretation, that she is the Church pouring out the eucharistic wine. No one, I believe, has seen any connection with Germany, although von Gabelentz remarks that the Church and Synagogue of the piers is a feature rare in Italy but common on French and German cathedrals.

[2] Especially Weese, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6, 7, 8.

Thus it seems that the master who carved the portal of S. Giustina at Padua was also trained in Germany, that he knew Chartres, but saw it through the eyes of the sculptors of Strassburg, adding to his style reminiscences of Bamberg. Comparing his work with our sarcophagus at Mantua we find the same facial type but no minute similarities that would warrant the assumption that it is the work of the same craftsman.

Another example of the appearance in Italy of the German interpretation of the style of Chartres is afforded by the relief representing Christ Enthroned of the Cathedral of Treviso (Fig. 25). This is dated about the middle of the thirteenth century by von Gabelentz,[1] who thinks it derived from the Christ of the west façade of Chartres. Much closer is it, however, to the Christ of the Coronation tympanum of Strassburg (Fig. 24) both in the treatment of the drapery and the technique of rendering the hair and beard; the attempt to give more personal expression to the face is in itself a German characteristic.

The apostles and the Christ of the iconostasis of S. Zeno of Verona also are strongly German in form, a fact that was recognized by Venturi although disregarded by later scholars.[2] The bodies of the apostles (Fig. 26) sway in at the bottom and their outline is broken by the awkward bending of the knees, while an attempt is made to individualize and characterize the faces; all of which are features of German early Gothic art,[3] as is also the archaic gathering-in of the drapery toward the ankles. Finally, the strangely weak and styleless figure of the Christ reminds one of the German wood technique. We might note in passing that the pallium of the apostle to the right of Christ (Fig. 26) forms a sling for his arm and is held in place on the right hip, it would seem, solely by the pressure of his arm against his body, thus recalling the illogical arrangement of the garments on the sarcophagus at Mantua.

Venice, the nearest large Italian city to Germany, as one would expect, retains many traces of this influence. A group of sculpture centring around the fragment of the Adoration of the Magi now in S. Maria della Salute, and including the four statues of the prophets of the Cappella Zen in S. Marco (Fig. 27) and the fragmentary Dream of Joseph in the magazzino of that church, has been isolated and discussed by many writers.[4] None of them, I

[1] Von Gabelentz, *op. cit.*, p. 199, Fig. 15.

[2] Venturi, *Storia*, vol. III, Figs. 96, 97, 98, p. 114; Vitzthum u. Volbach (*op. cit.*, p. 186) see in these figures solely the logical transition from Romanesque to Gothic art, while Toesca (*op. cit.*, p. 894, note 28) cites them as belonging to a group of sculpture between Lombard and Venetian, showing local characteristics in their proportions and vivid action, in which group also he places the Treviso relief of Christ.

[3] Compare with these the jamb figures of the Fürstenportal at Bamberg (Panofsky, *op. cit.*, Pls. 81, 83) and two apostles on the Cathedral of Münster in Westfalen (*Ibid.*, Pl. 59).

[4] Ongania, *La Basilica di San Marco*, part 6, vol. III, Pl. I, 9, I, 9a, I, 9b; Venturi, *L'Arte*, vol. II (1899), pp. 247 ff.; *Storia*, vol. III, pp. 347 ff., Figs. 331–334; von Gabelentz, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff.; Vitzthum u. Volbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 ff.; Toesca, *op. cit.*, pp. 793 ff. Venturi and von Gabelentz stress the derivation from Antelami; Vitzthum u. Volbach and Toesca see in the group a mingling of Lombard and Byzantine characteristics.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

25. Treviso. Cathedral.
Christ Enthroned

26. Verona. S. Zeno.
Pontile. Apostle

27. Venice. S. Marco. Cappella Zen. Zechariah

believe, has drawn attention to the clearly marked German provenance of its style. Comparing any of the prophets (Fig. 27) with the work at Bamberg and contrasting them with the prophets of Benedetto Antelami and Lombard sculpture on the one hand, and with the Byzantine tradition strong in Venice, on the other, numerous German characteristics stand out clearly, in the proportions, the drapery, and the faces and beards. These monuments are generally dated about the middle of the thirteenth century. I have already cited the figures of the Cappella Zen for the form of capital and colonnette placed between various members of the series, but aside from this and general resemblances in the shape of the faces the connection between the work at Venice and the style of the second sculptor at Mantua need not be pressed beyond their obvious common dependence on German Gothic art.

German sculpture thus exerted the powerful influence in the eastern section of North Italy toward the middle of the thirteenth century which was exerted by France in the western section during the first half of the century. As the tympanum of S. Giustina at Padua is clearly the style of Chartres modified by Strassburg, so our reliefs at Mantua show that of Reims as interpreted by Bamberg. To go further in the identification of our sculptor is, I believe, impossible and would yield little profit, since so much of the Early Christian composition remains and since his native style was naturally limited by the material in hand.

Of the date of the recutting I think there can be little doubt. We have found our closest comparisons in the first half of the thirteenth century in Italy, while the first School of Reims and the work we have cited at Bamberg both date before 1240. So much sense of form and sophistication, even in altering antique figures, is unthinkable in Italy much before the middle of the century, while a date much after that is unlikely because of the advent and vast influence of the Pisani. The inscription on the central block finally bears out this conclusion: "HAC IN URNA DORMIT CORPUS S IO BONI ET CAPELLA HUC TRANSLATUM DIE XX FEBR MDXLIII OBIIT AUTEM MCCXLVIIII." The interment of Johannus Bonus in 1249 was beyond a doubt the occasion for the recutting of the decoration on the sarcophagus and thus affords us an exact date for the second craftsman. The inscription, although not conclusive in itself because it was written so much later, when taken together with the evidence of the style is irrefutable. It is time the Mantua sarcophagus be taken from the category of Early Christian sculpture and given its rightful position in the art of the thirteenth century as a member of a group of monuments in Northern Italy showing strong influence from the early Gothic sculpture of Germany.

THE GOTHIC FRESCOS AT MONTE SIEPI

1. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Madonna and Child with Saints and Eve

THE GOTHIC FRESCOS AT MONTE SIEPI

By GEORGE ROWLEY

The life of the archaeologist has long been accepted as a sporting proposition, with adventures on all sides and the thrill of discovery accompanying each turn of the spade. On the other hand, the art historian is supposedly a musty fellow, frequenting libraries and galleries with never a fear of an accelerated pulse. Neither of these pictures can be considered accurate, for the archaeologist has his plodding and uneventful periods and the art historian frequently takes to the highroad and in romantic byways happens upon unexpected "finds" that furnish him his full share of excitement. My byway, in this instance, was the road to the Abbey of San Galgano and the "finds" were a little-known saint, an unknown artist, and a group of repainted frescos in the Gothic chapel at Monte Siepi. These frescos present an unusual variety of problems, accompanied by surprising solutions. They involve not only iconographic and stylistic analysis but the minute archaeological reconstruction of wall surfaces, the documentary history of the Abbey, one of the most interesting ruins in Italy, and the manuscript material of the life of San Galgano. The facts in the case were collected over a number of years of intermittent study and gradually wove themselves into the completed tale. In the hope, therefore, that a slight contribution may be made to the methods of research in Italian painting, the progress of discovery will be allowed to tell its own story.

A knowledge of San Galgano's life is essential for an understanding of the Monte Siepi frescos and since no version of that life is readily available I have compiled the significant incidents from the following:

Leggenda S. beati Galgani Confessoris (printed in Misc. Baluzia from a Latin manuscript of the early thirteenth century).

La Leggenda di Sancto Galgano Confessore (Ms. in Capitoli della Campagnia di S. Domenico di Siena).

Lombardelli, P. G., *Vita di San Galgano* (Bonetti, Siena, 1577).

Libanori, P. A., *Vita di San Galgano* (Bonetti, Siena, 1645).

Rossi, P., *Breve Compendio della Vita di San Galgano* (Siena, 1780).

Feroni, L., *Compendio della Vita di San Galgano* (Galletti, Firenze, 1835).

Canestrelli, A., *L'Abbazia di San Galgano* (Alinari, Firenze, 1896).

Galgano was born in 1148 in the hill town of Chiusdino in the district of Siena. He was the scion of a noble house noted for its virtuous living and the

son of a pious mother, Dionysia. His godly heritage seems to have had little effect upon him, since his youth was wild and riotous and the visits that he paid to Siena with his boon companions shocked even that town, accustomed as it was to the escapades of its citizens. To his mother his misdeeds were a constant grief and her prayers were full of supplications that divine aid would turn her son from his evil ways. Nor were her petitions unanswered. On a certain night after a drunken revel, Galgano had a vision in which the Archangel Michael seemed to appear to him and his mother. The angel told Dionysia to invest her son in the costume of a *cavaliere* since Galgano was to become a knight in the Army of the Heavenly Host. In this way Galgano might be saved from his sins, "which God could no longer endure." When the youth recounted the vision to his mother she was filled with great joy and said, "My son, good is your vision and admirable, since you are now recommended to the custody of the blessed St. Michael whom we have always venerated above all saints."

Several years passed. The high moment had faded from mind when again the Archangel appeared and told Galgano to follow him. The way led to a stream beside which a mill turned rapidly with much strident noise. There, across a narrow foot-bridge, the angel guided him into a beautiful meadow "painted with thousands of flowers whose diversity and fragrance charmed the senses and clarified the spirit." Through this meadow they walked to the foot of a small hill, whose summit must be reached by means of a subterranean passage. On emerging from this they found the hill surrounded by flowering hedges and crowned by a beautiful chapel, round in shape. Reverently entering, they beheld the Virgin in majesty, surrounded by saints and angels, and Galgano was told to read from a book. But the youth, overawed by wonder and confused by the unknown characters in the book, with trembling confessed that he could not; and so an angel in a clear voice read from Psalm 71, saying: "Quoniam non cognovi literaturam, introibo in potentias Domini, Domine memorabor iustitiae tuae solius." Thus it was vouchsafed to Galgano to know that although through learning he might not rise to a knowledge of God, he should fear nothing, since by prayer and fasting at that very place and instructed by visions he would attain to holiness and be indeed in the Army of the Lord.

Galgano, coming to himself, went straightway to the monastery in Malavalle near Castiglione founded by San Guglielmo where dwelt a monk of great sanctity and letters. To him he told his tale and asked for counsel. "My son," said the monk, "this is indeed a true vision and you are greatly favored by Heaven and should respond to the call. Know then that the stream which you saw, swollen and full of rapids, represents the World, turgid with sensual delights which are fleeting and unstable like the swiftly passing water. The

mill with its noisy wheel is Man who, placed in the stream of life, knows no stability but rapidly revolves in search of pleasure. The little bridge which crosses this stream and over which you safely passed is the abnegation of your will to a Higher Will, difficult to attain because of the resistance of your sensual self. With God's grace and without heeding the call of earth's pleasures, you will pass this bridge into those lovely and flowering meadows where your will is in harmony with God's will and every trial and tribulation will blossom into flowers. Yet not even here will you be in a safe place, for this field may be inundated by the stream of the World, rising above its banks and flooding the surrounding country; and hence you must seek higher ground. A hill was shown to you by the Archangel with a subterranean passage leading to its summit where you found a retreat of blessedness. The blind passage was the way of absolute unquestioning obedience which leads you to the solitary life, far from men but in the company of the saints and angels. You found that hill surrounded by flowers because the religious life should always be encircled by hedges of flowering virtues. Hard and difficult may be the climb to the mountain of spiritual perfection but, safely arrived, the secrets of God will no longer be veiled and you will see Christ and His Mother and the choir of the Apostles. Choose this mountain and the solitary life, my son, and do not doubt that you will find '*La Casa Rotonda della Vita Beata*,' where without end you will enjoy eternal happiness."

Some time later, on the road to Civitella, Galgano's horse suddenly stopped and refused to go farther so that the youth was forced to turn aside for a night's lodging. But on returning the next morning to this same spot the horse again balked and Galgano in desperation, throwing the reins upon the neck of his beast, gave himself up to prayers to God that He might bring to pass the prophecies of the visions. The horse, unguided, brought its rider without further ado to Monte Siepi. Imagine the unbounded joy of Galgano at finding himself actually in the flesh on the very spot where in vision he had seen the Cappella Rotonda.

Then Galgano decided that he should return home and distribute his worldly goods to the poor in gratitude for this confirmation of heavenly guidance. But a voice from Heaven called upon him to remain where he was and to build immediately a round hut, shaped like the chapel of his vision, where he must live leaving all the rest to God who would never abandon His servant. Thereupon the youth stripped himself of his garments as worldly vanities, only retaining his cloak through which he cut a hole for his head and which he wore like a monk's habit. His sword troubled him most, as being wholly unfitted for God's service, since many times it had been used for offence to God and his neighbor, and he hurled it from him upon the rocks to dash it to pieces. But lo, the Divine Will interposed and the sword, piercing the rock, became trans-

fixed and immovable. Galgano, falling on his knees to give thanks for this miracle, saw to his amazement that the handle of the sword formed a cross and realized that this was a divine indication that with prayer and fasting and mortification of the flesh he should crucify himself on the cross of his Lord. And moreover he perceived that, though reading had been denied him for lack of teachers, there was now opened to him the Book of Sacrifice wherein he might spell out the words of adoration and devotion. In his first vision the Archangel had invited him to become a Knight of Christ; now he was shown the cross he should bear and Galgano did not doubt that, as earthly princes distributed to their followers crosses of gold and silver, to him as a Cavalier of Christ had come this cross of iron — the heavenly decoration of the solitary life.

After many months of subsistence on herbs, of dangers from wild beasts, of struggles with tempting demons, and of all the manifest trials of the hermit life, Galgano again had a vision of the Archangel Michael, who told him to make ready to accompany him to Rome. There the young man went to a Cistercian monastery, where he was received as a lay brother and from which he visited all the holy places. Meanwhile three monks, jealous of the fame of Galgano's holy life, came stealthily from a neighboring monastery and set fire to his hut and broke his sword into pieces. Yet this terrible deed gave them short comfort since Heaven administered swift justice upon the miscreants, for one was drowned in a cloudburst, one was struck by lightning and the third devoured by a wolf. The news of the destruction of his hut and his sword came to Galgano from the Archangel who appeared to him on the top of the Castello Sant' Angelo and told him of what had occurred at Monte Siepi. Galgano, returning to the Cistercian monastery, recounted the story of this vision and of the message of St. Michael. The tale reached the ears of the Pope who, secretly sending swift messengers, was amazed to find that they confirmed the report of the burned hut and the broken sword. Then the Pope, Alexander III, sent for Galgano and, after giving him relics of S. Fabiano, S. Sebastiano and S. Stefano, permitted him to return to Monte Siepi. The sight of his broken sword filled Galgano with mighty grief; but the Lord to console him in his sadness appeared three times in a vision and told him to put together the broken parts upon the point of the sword which still remained in the ground. Galgano obeyed, and behold, each piece was united one with the other until the cross, as before, stood upright and immovable (where it remains to this day).

Then Galgano rebuilt his hut in its circular form; and day and night he contemplated celestial things and meditated upon the vanity of this world, its fleeting glories, and the shortness of this life in contrast to the life which shall not end. Unceasingly he prayed that he might be removed from the sorrows of

2. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 1. Madonna and Child

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

this world to become a cavalier in Paradise. At last one day the cell was filled with a light more bright than the light of a thousand fires and a voice said, "Enough! enough! Galgano. Sufficiently long have you tilled and sown on this earth; soon will you taste the fruits of glory." And in the midst of a prayer the spirit of Galgano parted from his body and entered into life eternal.

By divine intervention it happened that on the day of his death, December 3, 1181, two great prelates, Ugo Saladini, Bishop of Volterra, and Giovanni, Bishop of Massa, were passing by and found the body of Galgano still kneeling in front of his sword. Also by divine intervention the Abbots of Casamari, Fossanova and S. Anastasio, being lost on their return from Burgundy, were led to the spot to assist in the burial. At the request of these Cistercian abbots and of the good people of Siena, the Pope, Lucius III, ordered a process to be made on the life and miracles of Galgano; and in 1185, but four years after his death, he was canonized. This is the story of Saint Galgano, whose life, like his little hill, was surrounded by a hedge of flowering virtues.

Since we are now familiar with the story of the saint's life, we can proceed to discuss the frescos with some understanding of the subject-matter. The road from Siena to Monte Siepi runs southwest through sparsely settled and hitherto rather inaccessible country. Finally it winds up a wooded gorge past the remains of a Roman bridge and a ruined castle, climbs the last divide, and descends to the castle of Frosini, which dominates the rich valley of the Merse River and from which one can see the precipitous hill town of Chiusdino, where Galgano was born, and the hill of Siepi where he died. At the foot of Monte Siepi stands the remains of the monumental Abbey of S. Galgano, built by Cistercian monks in the thirteenth century in the modified French Gothic style which is employed at the Abbeys of Fossanova and Casamari. The summit of the hill is crowned by a round chapel which is always referred to as the Cappella Rotonda. It was erected at the end of the twelfth century to commemorate San Galgano's death and to enshrine his relics. The Cappella Rotonda is flanked on the right by the house of the caretaker and on the left by a smaller rectangular chapel which contains the frescos under consideration. This chapel, which is 4.40 meters wide and 4.95 long, may be conveniently called the Gothic Chapel to differentiate it from the Cappella Rotonda, the chapels of the cemetery and the chapels of the Abbey. The end and side walls of the Gothic Chapel are divided by painted borders into two stories with semicircular lunettes above. The ground story is now bare, although it must have once contained either frescos or an ornamental dado. Each wall of the second story is divided by a central window, making six compartments for frescos. Of these, only three retain any pigment. On the end wall a divided

Annunciation shows a loggia with a kneeling archangel and traces of a donor on the left, and on the right, a vividly repainted head of a standing Virgin (Figs. 6 and 7).[1] Adjacent to this Annunciation on the left wall, the Castello Sant'Angelo can be seen with the walls of Rome and old St. Peter's in the background. Beside the window, a youthful head gazes up over the wall toward the Archangel Michael who has just alighted upon the Castello and is sheathing his sword — certainly the appearance of Michael in Rome (Fig. 9).[2] The continuation of the architectural background above the window shows that the painter intended to tie this scene up with that of the remaining half of the side wall, just as he carried the architectural loggia over the end window to unite the two parts of the Annunciation. Perhaps this might argue that the missing scene of the side wall represented one of Galgano's experiences in Rome. Brogi speaks of having seen the painting of a landscape in this chapel. A landscape would have been an appropriate setting, since most of Galgano's visions occurred in the wilds of Monte Siepi and such a scene might have decorated the second-story side wall facing the settings in Rome. Each of the three lunettes contained single scenes which remain intact except for portions next to the Cappella Rotonda. In the end lunette, the Madonna and Child are seated in majesty, surrounded by saints and angels (Fig. 1). The left-hand lunette shows a youth, obviously Galgano, presenting to an archangel a miniature model of Monte Siepi, which is transfixed by a sword, while a group of attendant saints and a row of angels act as heavenly witnesses (Fig. 4). This scene symbolizes the consecration of Galgano's life to prayer and fasting on Monte Siepi. An analogous scene fills the lunette on the right (Fig. 5). In front of a row of angels a multitude of saints appear in procession with two angels kneeling at the head of the line. The interpretation of this scene is made clear by a comment from Libanori who writes in 1645 that the pomp of Galgano's canonization is seen painted in the sacristy of the Cappella on Monte Siepi under these words: "*A Lucio III Lucente Pontefice Max, canonizatur, Anno Domini MCLXXXV.*" Apparently these two scenes are allegorical treatments with the canonization appropriately balanced against the opposite lunette representing the final act of consecration.

My first visit to the chapel permitted but a cursory examination in so dim a light that the upper figures were indistinct. It is only fair to those who came before and after me to state that this visit revealed little more than had already been reported by Mr. F. M. Perkins and others who had attributed these frescos to Ambrogio Lorenzetti. On my second visit I was able to examine the end wall by candlelight, mounting a scaffolding which had been erected by Signore Baldini of Florence for minor restorations. The first survey

[1] I wish to thank Miss Frick for permission to publish the photographs of this article.

[2] Fig. 9 is a Lombardi photograph which unfortunately fails to show the head of San Galgano at the extreme left.

3. Mont Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 1. Saints

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

by the aid of the candlelight revealed many puzzling and incongruous details. The figures of the Madonna and Child offered the first problem (Fig. 2). The upper half of the Madonna's figure and the whole of the Christ Child had been repainted in *buon fresco* over the original design. The right arm of an earlier figure holding a sceptre still extended from under the elbow of the present Madonna. The obvious conclusion was that the original figure represented a Madonna in Majesty of the French Gothic type dear to the heart of the Cistercians but strangely foreign on Italian soil. However, why should a long sceptre be used instead of one of the short French type, why should a Madonna and Child of the Italian school be painted over the original French design, and what could have been the date of such a clumsy restoration?

The Annunciation seemed even more unaccountable. A strong light revealed a half-effaced donor, done in a mealy non-durable pigment, kneeling behind the Archangel (Fig. 6). Iconographically a full-sized donor should not occur before the Renaissance. Moreover, the Archangel was not of the true Annunciation type. The green hat with the white band, the lambent flame above the forehead, and the wide ermine-collared cape suggested Michael rather than Gabriel, although the palm which the angel holds is plain rather than adorned with stars as is the one Michael—not Gabriel—offers to the Virgin at her death. Doubt concerning the subject-matter of the whole scene became a certainty when the candle revealed a pair of isolated hands clutching the colonnette of the loggia and a forearm clothed in light green, indicating a figure, now obliterated, which not only would have knelt in front of the Virgin but would have completely hidden her (Fig. 7). This was indeed baffling. Which of these figures was the original or did both exist simultaneously in this surprising juxtaposition? Was the kneeling figure that of the Virgin in a *contrapposto* position introduced by French or Flemish influences? If so, might the Virgin's head be original and when might it have been added? Was there any connection between the date of this head and the introduction of a donor? It was quite evident that none of these questions could be answered without a more scientific examination of the wall surface, and a careful search of the Abbey records for any notices of restorations or descriptions of the frescos.

In order to have a suitable view of the walls I attached an automobile headlight to a battery by ten metres of wire and, at the suggestion of Professor Kennedy of Smith College, armed myself with a binocular microscope for inspection of the several layers of pigment. Since it would be too tedious to narrate the condition of the wall surface inch by inch I shall confine myself to the results of the examination. This work, however, convinced me that the wholesale attribution of second-rate pictures to first-rate names and the cheerful acceptance of fakes is largely due to an inadequate examination of

the monuments. The photographic details will complete the chain of evidence and furnish incontestable proof of the soundness of most of my conclusions. The first question, whether or not any of the original pigment remained, was best answered by the conditions of the side walls. These had been covered either by whitewash or a flat coat of terra verde so that the scraper revealed an under paint in fair condition. The microscope showed this to be the original since it formed a layer, thin as an eggshell, on the plaster below; and apparently this original painting was done, not in *buon fresco* but in *fresco secco* in the usual Sienese Trecento manner similar in its laborious detail to panel technique. With such a method it is not surprising that the end wall had needed several restorations, nor that the side walls had suffered damage and had been retouched at least once before they had received their protective coat of whitewash. In the canonization scene, the halo of Sta. Cristina of Bolsena shows a light yellow under tint, darker streaks of a second coat and on these the residual whitewash left by the scraper (Fig. 5). For the most part, however, the side walls had preserved the original pigment and could be relied upon to give a trustworthy impression of the painter's style.

Before the use of the electric light and the microscope it had been impossible to study the two small side-wall figures of Galgano and the Archangel on top of the Castello Sant' Angelo; and they proved to be the means of solving the problem of the end wall. The color of Galgano's inner jacket was identical with that of the sleeve of the mysterious figure clasping the colonnette. This suggested the surprising hypothesis that the original scene was not an Annunciation but an appearance of Michael to Galgano. All the evidence led to this conclusion. The green pigment of the kneeling figure lay directly on the plaster and was flecked here and there with the dark blue of a second coat having the same mealy texture already noticed in the figure of the donor. The character of the Virgin's head added a second link to the chain of evidence (Fig. 8). The face and hands were painted in thin flat color completely absorbed by the plaster and at first glance similar to the original pigment, but the colors were quite different from the flesh tones of the side walls and the pigment itself was of a different consistency. Also, a small section of fresh paint could not have survived in the total destruction of the wall surface. Although the head was certainly repainted, was it repainted *in situ* or was it inserted later during a change in the composition? If this was the original position of the head, we are faced with a two-fold problem — whom did it represent and why should the painter have placed the two figures in such curious juxtaposition? If the head agrees with an original, it had no moulded halo such as those of the Archangel and the Madonna above, which have been moulded in relief while the wall was wet and project from the surface a half inch at least. The halo, on the contrary, had been so crudely scratched into the plas-

4. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. San Galgano presenting Rock and Sword to Angel

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

ter that the quatrefoil design of the wall border is discernible. It does not seem possible, therefore, that the head was that of the Virgin. In the life of San Galgano there is but one scene where a standing female figure and a kneeling youth would be permissible and that would have been the first appearance of the Archangel to Galgano with his mother present. But we may well doubt the possibility of there being two figures huddled so strangely against one another and we may better regard the original scene as that of the second appearance of Michael to Galgano alone, in face of the following facts. Below the well-preserved head of the Virgin in the position which would naturally be her shoulder there is a circular section on the wall surface quite bare and noticeable for its regularity (Fig. 7). This section had evidently been scraped with a sharp instrument to level or erase something. It is most significant that this perfect circle is the exact size of the halo of Michael, that it is in the exact position of a halo of the obliterated figure whose hands clutch the pillar and that it balances the Archangel's halo — indicating a design of two figures kneeling opposite one another. It is impossible to doubt that a raised, tooled halo, similar to Michael's and the Madonna's in the fresco above, had been smoothed away to permit the painting of the present Virgin, or that the halo had belonged to Galgano. If the Archangel had worn armor, there could have been no question whatever that Michael was intended; but although the angel wears no helmet he does wear the green-and-white cap, whereas Gabriel is always represented with bare head. Most conclusive is the lambent flame above the forehead. Later in Fra Angelico's time this had become an attribute common to all angels as symbolic of their spiritual fervor, but Simone Martini in his Majesty uses the flame as a distinguishing mark for the unarmed Michael, while Gabriel wears a jewel. It is interesting in this connection to note that from Simone's Majesty come the identical bowls of flowers to be found in the Siepi Majesty, which is the next fresco under consideration.

The reader must have already surmised that this Majesty represents that dramatic moment in Galgano's greatest vision when he beheld "the Son of God and the Queen of the Angels seated on a large and eminent throne with the twelve Apostles around them in a noble cortège." The texts vary considerably and the artist's interpretation agrees with none of them. Rather, he has seized the opportunity to portray the historical figures connected with the life of the saint; and hampered by lack of space, he has substituted for the twelve Apostles the four saints so often found in Sienese painting, namely, the two Johns, Peter, and Paul. These sit on a kind of choir bench in the middle register of the fresco just below groups of angels, some of whom bear flowers and others candles. On the lowest register Eve stretches at the feet of the Madonna flanked by two kneeling female figures who represent the dual aspects of Charity — the Temporal and the Spiritual. Temporal Charity

offers a carrot symbolizing the fruits of the earth which she takes from a market basket whose shape can still be seen in the country districts around Siena. Spiritual Charity offers the greater gift of her heart which she holds in her hand. Behind these two, kneel groups of figures introduced by historical license. Libanori, the chronicler, identifies the two Cistercian monks as the BB. Jacomo da Montieri and Ranieri da Belforte, the pope as Lucius III who canonized the saint, and the two bishops as Ugo Saladini and Ildebrando Panocchi. Since Libanori admits uncertainty and since there are no records against which one might check his surmises, these identifications cannot be regarded as final.[1]

The wall surface of the Majesty has suffered quite as much from repainting as has that of the Vision below it but fortunately all of the figures have been preserved so that there can be no doubt about the design. The whole lunette must have been repainted at the time of the reworking of the lower fresco, because most of the pigment of the two Charities, the pope and the second row of figures is identical in texture with that used for the donor and the Virgin below and has worn off leaving scattered patches. In addition to this repainting there may have been earlier retouching not conspicuous enough to count. The next renovation shows in a heavy impasto on the figures of the angels, on the eyes and lips of Eve, and the two Cistercians, on the basket, and on the inscription. This impasto is in red, white, and yellow, excluding entirely the earlier greens. Even the inscription is red on white. The examination of a single unit will show the complexity of the various repaintings. The only original paint on Temporal Charity is a portion of the sleeve. Above this is the red-and-green mealy "donor" paint and finally the thick impasto covers the whole head, the red collar and wristbands, and the yellow basket. The head of Spiritual Charity shows the mouth, chin, and eyes in the heavy impasto with the forehead and hair still in the original. The expression on the face of the monk immediately behind her has been altered by cleverly added lines and demonstrates strikingly the wide difference between the Trecento painter's stiff conventions and the mobility of the later restorer (Fig. 3).

[1] The following are suggested attributions of the saints not mentioned by Libanori:

Fig. 1. Figure in red with crown of flowers — S. Guglielmo of Malavalle since Galgano had his second vision interpreted by a monk of the monastery of the Guglielmites at Malavalle.

Fig. 4. Female saint holding book — now Catharine of Siena but the book was added later since it is painted over the hand. Original saint unidentified.

Fig. 5. (Reading from right to left)

Female saint with arrow — Sta. Cristina of Bolsena.

Pope — Lucius III who canonized Galgano.

Male saint with book and stones upon his head — St. Stephen, who was one of Galgano's favorite saints.

Male saint with tau cross — St. Philip.

Male saint with crown and harp — David.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for the assistance of Mrs. Henry Hollis of the Iconographic Index of Princeton University in the above identifications.

5. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Company of Saints and Angels

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

In addition to these interesting facts in relation to the paint itself, the light made it possible to determine precisely the changes in the Madonna and also the boundary line of the superimposed *buon fresco.* The photographic detail (Fig. 2) shows that this line follows the Madonna's coif, down along the arm of the Child, the hand of the Madonna, the Child's left foot and upward around the Madonna's right shoulder. At several points the new fresco projects so far from the old wall surface that a knife-blade could be inserted between them, and a third of the Child's arm has cracked off revealing the red throne-drapery of the original painting. This drapery, the long cape of the early figure, and the sleeve material on the mysterious arm with the sceptre were done in the original pigment. The red cape had a green lining and was covered with the same pattern in fine gold thread as that which decorated the original sleeve, leaving no doubt that they belonged together. The sceptre had been repainted in the mealy "donor" paint and, although the throne and the portion of the sceptre above the hand were outlined by the usual tooled lines, there were no such lines for the portion of the sceptre that appears below the hand. This difference may indicate either an oversight in the painting or may rather concern an important bit of iconography suggesting a change from the short French type of sceptre to the longer, wand-like one found in Lombard work. The Madonna's crown seems to have belonged to the original figure, and once again earlier and later photographs are helpful. Lombardi's photograph shows the entire crown while in the F. A. R. L. photograph the restorer is seen to have painted a bit of the Madonna's mantle on the sides of the crown, widening the head and concealing a damaged portion of it. Of course the crown precludes the possibility of the figure being other than that of the Madonna. It would be idle to speculate upon the pose of the original Child although it must have been small to have been concealed by the *buon fresco;* a standing type would seem to be indicated. Of one thing we can be sure, that the crown and the sceptre prove this Madonna to have been of the French type.

The historical evidence is complete enough to establish a correlation between the different layers of pigment and the successive restorations cited in the records of the Abbey and seen by commentators. It would be unsafe to attempt too great exactness but the details are sufficiently specific to warrant a reconstruction of the general sequence of events.

The Cappella Rotonda was erected a few years after the death of the saint, together with a monastery for the Cistercians. During the next forty years the donations and privileges ceded the monastery by the bishops of Volterra (Idlebrando and Pagano Pannocchieschi) and especially by Cardinal Stefano da Ceccano, formerly abbot of Fossanuova, were so generous that in 1324 the monks began the great Abbey on the plains at the foot of Monte Siepi. The

story of that Abbey's expansion and growth in power through more than a century of Sienese history has few parallels. The monks became the Operai del Duomo of Siena and their portraits as accountants are still preserved on the covers of some of the early record books. In fact, the fame of their financing reached as far as the fairs of Champagne and even to distant England. Most of the property notices relating to the Abbey date from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The dependencies of the Abbey of San Galgano included monasteries not only of the whole Sienese district but of Pisa, Lucca, and Florence. The monks averaged about forty in number. The choir contained thirty-two seats for monks and eighteen for lay brothers. Toward the end of this period, the Gothic Chapel under consideration was added to the Cappella Rotonda. Since the Cappella must have served as a special commemorative chapel the original use of this single addition can only be surmised. However, numerous legacies concerning other chapels indicate that this probably served as a chantry of some kind. Canestrelli suggests that a legacy of 1340 refers to the Gothic Chapel because the chapel was to be erected "juxta ecclesiam Sancti Galgani," a phrase which seems to him ambiguous enough to mean the Cappella Rotonda instead of the Abbey proper. However, the evidence from Libanori refutes any such possibility and gives 1336 as the exact date of the erection of the rectangular Gothic Chapel.

About this time, the original wall decorations of the Gothic Chapel, if our deductions are correct, must have comprised scenes devoted entirely to visions and allegorical symbolizations of the saint's life. Libanori tells us that the Cappella Rotonda was decorated with miracles with a legend under each fresco. For example, the first legend at the right of the chapel entrance read "*Reddens vitae puerum demersum in fluvio, solatur Patrem, suo patrocini.*" Since the fresco was made at the request of Abbot Buono, it must have dated from the late twelfth century. The fact that the Cappella proper contained the miracles of the saint argues that the lost scenes of the Gothic Chapel probably were similarly devoted to visions and important moments in his life.

The successive periods of restoration, following upon times of decline, may be conveniently classified as four in number, occurring in the fifteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and late nineteenth centuries. Trouble began by 1364, when the whole district was sacked and devastated by the English adventurers who made the Abbey their headquarters. The damage done by the troops was probably not great and in all likelihood affected only the lower walls. Furthermore, during the period of renewed prosperity which is proved by the additions of the Monasteries of S. Eugenio and S. M. Novella, near Siena, to the Abbey of S. Galgano, no definite notices of repairs appear in the records. Therefore, whatever was done was presumably more in the nature of upkeep

6. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Angel of the Annunciation

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

than of restoration. Down through the fifteenth century, whatever minor retouching there may have been, there was no tampering with the actual compositions.

The real decline of the Abbey foundation, destined to end in its ultimate doom, began with its commending. In 1482 it had not yet been commended, but in 1503 the first notice appears of '*un abbate commendatario.*' Giovanni Andrea Vitelli was the worst Commendatario imaginable, so that by 1576 the Bishop of Rimini, sent by Gregory XIII to investigate the condition of the monastery, found only a single lay brother in charge. During fifty years of service his fellow monks and lay brothers had dwindled from eighty to none and Vitelli refused to even feed the miserable survivor. The damage from neglect would have been great, but according to an "*Informatione della Badia di San Galgano*" written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Commendatario also did everything possible toward the Abbey's ultimate destruction. Even the lead from the roof of the Cappella was sold, which must have caused extensive injury to the frescos. The extent of the damage can best be appreciated from the estimates for the restoration of 1577 under Cardinal Commendone. The levy against Vitelli for his neglect was figured at not less than two thousand scudi or one fiftieth of the original cost of the buildings — a large reparation. The itemized estimate offered by the masons amounting to four hundred and thirty scudi specifically mentions the Cappella, which proves that it was included in the general restoration of the Abbey. A new decline in the early seventeenth century is indicated by the selling of objects, furniture, and books by the monks in order to buy food. However, the Cappella proper apparently escaped from the general ruin because in 1666 the Archbishop of Siena reports to the Commendatario, Cardinal Leopold de Medici, that the Cappella is in good being although without sacred furniture, that the house of the peasant annexed to it threatens immediate ruin, that the Abbey is open to the beasts, that the altars are bare stone except in the sacristy, where the sacred furniture remained but no chests to contain the holy chattels, and finally that the monastery shortly would fall to the ground. What happened to the frescos during their first extensive restoration? Fortunately the answer can be given in the words of an eye-witness, none other than Libanori, Abbot of San Galgano. His *Vita di San Galgano* published by Bonetti in 1645 contains the most complete account of the saint's life and miracles and presents all kinds of invaluable legendary and historical material. Libanori's value as a historian becomes more notable when his work is compared with Lombardelli's *Vita di San Galgano*, written in 1577, which is loaded with the author's sermonizing. Therefore Libanori's evidence deserves every attention and particularly his testimony as an eye-witness. It is inexplicable why Canestrelli should question Libanori's description of the altar-

piece which stood in the Gothic Chapel merely because he could find no independent proof of the facts contained in the inscriptions, giving the names of the donor, the painter, and the date of the altarpiece. Libanori writes, "Moreover, in the sacristy of the Cappella on Monte Siepi, there is an altar on whose *tavola* of gold there is painted a Crucifix, the angel Michael and S. Galgano, and in the *predella* some of the Apostles. This *tavola* served at the back as a closet for holding the sacerdotal garments of the altar and the Mass, and the painting in the middle opened out toward the door, revealing the figure of the Queen of Heaven with Jesus in her arms — a painting very beautiful, ancient, and devout. In this sacristy, among the other paintings which remain on the wall, there appears the Cardinal Stefano da Ceccano kneeling before the Santissima Nunziata and higher, in addition to the BB. Jacomo da Montieri and Ranieri da Belfonte, monks of our Monastery of San Galgano, Lucio III, who canonized the saint, the bishops Ugo Saladini, Ildebrando Panocchieschi and Galgano Visconti, if we have observed correctly, there being no inscriptions." The importance of this description is apparent. It means that the fresco representing the appearance of Michael to Galgano had been revamped into an Annunciation before 1645, and this gives a date for determining the relative chronology of the several layers of pigment. The description leaves some doubt concerning the number of scenes visible to Libanori. His phrase, "among the other paintings," would suggest the existence of several and the enumeration of figures shows that there were other frescos than those on the end wall, since he mentions two bishops when only one is present in the Majesty. Therefore, "higher" refers to the upper lunettes and not merely to the end lunette.

One remaining doubt should be raised. Exactly what form of Annunciation did Libanori see? Was the Virgin standing in her present position or might it be possible that the kneeling figure of the saint was changed into that of the Virgin in a Baroque *contrapposto* position, looking back over her shoulder at Michael and seizing the colonnette in fright? But no traces of the superimposed blue of the Virgin's robe could be found on the green arm of the kneeling saint. Therefore the scene in 1645 must have been about as it is to-day, only in all the freshness of restoration. When we look back through the Abbey's history of prosperity and decline, the one most likely moment for such a transformation is 1577, under Cardinal Commendone. That date satisfies the two demands of deterioration requiring extensive repair and funds on hand adequate enough for such a restoration. Although Libanori has identified the donor as Stefano da Ceccano, an early-thirteenth-century patron, it seems more likely that it was the portrait of the man whose generosity made the restoration possible. The evidence of the pigment would show that this restoration, in a paint of more mealy texture than the original, applied to all the

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

7. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Virgin of the Annunciation

figures of the Majesty and of the side scenes, and that the repaint, being perishable, was scraped off with the whitewash of the side walls and has flaked off the end wall.

The second severe period of destruction began about Libanori's time and continued until 1786, the year of the fall of the Campanile, which was the crowning calamity of the derelict Abbey. In 1720 engineers reported that the Abbey vaults were in danger of falling because of roof leakage, that reconstruction would cost thirty-six hundred scudi and that if prompt action was delayed, the Abbey would be a heap of stones — a prophecy all too soon fulfilled! A visitor reported that Mass was celebrated only in the sacristy, where the walls were moldy, the plaster corroded, and the modern paintings damaged. The fall of the campanile, endangering the sacristy, compelled the monks to officiate in the Cappella Rotonda. This led to the second general restoration of the Cappella because in 1786 the Commendatario, Marchese Feroni, asked the Granduca to free him from further obligation to conserve the Abbey, proposing to substitute the Cappella with the addition of a building for the curate and to reimburse himself from the materials of the Abbey and demolished monastery. In 1789 the decree was issued deconsecrating the Abbey and ordering all remaining relics to be removed to the Cappella. This change meant that the monastic character of the Abbey ceased and that a curate used the Cappella as a parochial church. No longer was it the memorial chapel of the saint's vision. Consequently, the small chapel was needed to serve as a sacristy. That it was so employed is proved by Leopold Feroni's statement, in his *Compendio della Vita di San Galgano*, published in 1835, that everything was covered with whitewash except a lunette in a little chapel annexed to the church. This places the covering of the side-wall scenes between 1789 and 1835 and, if the inference may be permitted, suggests that the Annunciation had already become so indistinct in comparison with the better preserved Majesty that it was not worth mentioning. The heavy impasto, since it appears only on the end wall, can be dated between this whitewashing and its removal some time in the second half of the nineteenth century. The last step in restoration can be seen by comparison of earlier and later photographs which show the renewal of the architectural setting and, more important, the repainting of the Virgin's head. Only one feature has been omitted from this chronological sequence — the superimposed fresco of the Madonna and Child. It is difficult to date this innovation because the pigment seems unlike any other used in the chapel and because the demand for the normal Italian motif of the Madonna and Child would be natural at any period. The layers of pigment suggest three steps: first, the original Madonna, whose arm in French fashion held a short sceptre; second, the restoration of 1577, which lengthened the sceptre into the Lombard type; and lastly, the superim-

posed fresco. If the sceptre is correctly assigned to Commendone's restoration of 1577, then the condition of the *buon fresco* places it somewhere between that date and the heavy impasto which occurred after the whitewashing of the side wall. In that interval, the one outstanding event of importance was the renovation of the Cappella into a parochial church and the use of its chapel as a sacristy. Since it was common practice during the post-Renaissance to calcimine the walls of sacristies, this moment, 1789, seems the most probable time for the covering of the side wall. This whitewashing and the clumsy superposition of *buon fresco* show similar disregard for the frescos underneath. The restorer apparently did not even attempt to conceal the arm with the sceptre, and painted the Madonna's robe in plain color with an ermine border and fringe, entirely different from the lower patterned robe with its geometrically decorated border and without any fringe. The modern restorers have at least been most careful. The heavy impasto was put on with strict regard for the earlier design and Signore Baldini avoided any repair of the figures except where they threatened disintegration. Therefore, all the evidence dovetails neatly toward assigning the whitewashing of the side walls and the addition of the Madonna and Child on the end wall to the same period, namely, when the Cappella became the sole place of worship and the repository for the relics.

At last, after the tiresome but necessary separation of paint from repaint, we are ready to estimate the style of the Monte Siepi painter. Above all else he is an extremely eclectic person. Each one of the important Sienese has contributed handsomely to the mélange, and yet this eclectic is not without a certain ingenuity. The variety of his angel types best illustrates the intermingling of ideas and mannerisms. The angels in full face were derived from Duccio, those in profile from Pietro, and the archangel Michael rather suggests Ambrogio. The details are just as diverse in inspiration — with bowls of flowers from Simone, the throne from Pietro, and the large wings from Ambrogio's Massa Marittima altarpiece. The stylistic treatment is almost wholly Ambrosian whether we consider the amplitude of such figures as Eve and the two Charities or the composition of the Majesty, but the characteristics are often contradictory. The Duccian and Simonesque features connote youthful Ambrogio, whereas the breadth of handling and the perspective of the loggia are decidedly in his later manner. This ambiguity would be unthinkable for Ambrogio himself but it is just what ought to be expected from a painter working in his bottega during Ambrogio's final period and failing to slough off earlier formative influences. Who was this unknown painter? Libanori, abbot and eye-witness in 1645, concludes his description of the "sacristy of the chapel on Monte Siepi" with these words: "*Questa tavola e sagrestia a spese proprie, fece fare un tale da Selvatella, come dimostrano le seguenti parole a oro poste nello cornice del Crocifisso di mezzo.*"

8. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Detail from Fig. 7. Virgin's Head

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

'QUESTA TAVOLA CON LA CAPPELLA FECE FARE
RISTORO DA SELVATELLA MCCCXXXVI.'

"*La pittura che e assai bella e molto artistica fu d'un tale che vi pose il suo nome nel gradino della tavola:*"

'NICOLAUS SEGRE ME PINXIT'

Apparently Libanori believed that the frescos and the altarpiece were by the same hand. Unfortunately I was unable to find the name Segre in any of the rolls of artisans but my colleague, Professor Mather, has ingeniously suggested that only a slight break in the "n" of Segne would have caused Libanori to read Segre. Niccolo di Segna, who signs himself Nicolaus Segne, was active at the time but his only signed work, the Crucifix of 1345, shows that even at that late date he was rather Duccian. He could scarcely have achieved so Ambrogian a style in the thirties. In any case the eye of a seventeenth-century abbot would have been too untrained to observe fine differences between the frescos and the signed altarpiece. He may merely have inferred from the single signature that all the painting in the chapel was done by a single hand. On the other hand, there may have been such a person as Nicolaus Segre who did the whole chapel. Until further evidence of Niccolo di Segna's style is forthcoming or some reference to Nicolaus Segre is discovered it might be better to admit that Libanori's notice only makes possible an altarpiece by Niccolo di Segna and to name the unknown painter of the frescos, the Master of Monte Siepi.

It only remains to analyze the artistic personality of this master and to determine whether the earliest pigment agrees with the date read on the altarpiece by Libanori. Since the year 1336 falls in the middle period of the Lorenzetti, the furniture, costume, ornament and all the usual data for dating ought to coincide with mid-Lorenzettian fashions. The throne, made of wood with geometric inlays, can be placed somewhere between the simplicity of the throne in Ambrogio's Vico l'Abate panel of 1319 and the ornateness of the one in Budapest. The throne by Pietro in the Johnson collection has a similar spotting of the inlay down the sides and a filling-in of the arms with rectangles. Both of the Lorenzetti made a feature of the inlay in their earlier works and later tended to cover the thrones completely with drapery. The Monte Siepi throne lies between the two extremes. The bench upon which the two Johns and Peter and Paul are seated presents an unusual scheme for the arrangement of the Madonna's adorers in several levels. All the large Sienese Majesties employed the figures in standing positions at different levels with a front row of kneeling worshippers. The smaller Majesties followed the Byzantine groupment of the figures around the throne without any intelligible support.

The Ruccellai's placement of the angels in empty space develops into the overlapping of the figures and finally into the Lorenzettian attempt to arrange them more normally, although still without any visible floor support. This device of the choir bench was used by Ambrogio at San Francesco about 1330 and in the Sala Pace frescos of 1337; the Master of Monte Siepi probably adapted it to the scene of the Majesty.

The costumes are also in accordance with a date in the thirties. The counterpart of the Madonna's rose-colored robe with its gold-thread pattern appears in the Johnson Madonna dating about 1330. The diaphanous drapery of Eve recalls that of Pax in the Sala Pace and has the same circular clasp at the throat and the same fine classical folds. Undoubtedly Ambrogio must have created numerous figures inspired by his interest in the antique so that the fact that the Pax was painted a year or two later than the Siepi frescos is immaterial. The costume of the flower-and-candle-bearing angels corresponds to the jackets worn by Ambrogio's angels painted about 1330 at Massa Marittima. Embroidered frontals cover the breasts and ribbon-like stoles cross under the arms. The unusual striped curtains across the bedroom behind the kneeling Galgano are similar to those of the Ugolino di Vieri reliquary of 1338. The ornamental motifs used on the throne drapery and the embroideries of the costumes check very well with mid-Lorenzettian motifs, although at first sight the elaborate ornament on the bishop's robe in the left lunette looks like a Renaissance pattern. However, examples of this highly conventionalized palmette occur as early as the tenth century on satin chasubles and the repeat of a large figure is responsible for giving the impression of a fifteenth-century design. In addition to the correspondence between these details and the date of 1336, it might be worth noting how surely the hand of the restorer betrays itself when he has to create a new design instead of following the traces of the original. The border of the Madonna's mantle with its tiny tufts of ermine and stringy fringe (Fig. 2), and the fillet across the Virgin's forehead are entirely out of period (Fig. 8). The only feature which cannot be satisfactorily paralleled is the architectural loggia, although its Quattrocento air is due rather to its handling than to its elements, which are wholly Lorenzettian. The colonnette, the large floor tiles, and the barrel vaults have their counterparts in Ambrogio's Presentation and Pietro's Birth of the Virgin.

The stylistic characteristics of the Master of Monte Siepi are clear, despite the repaint, and separate him distinctly from Ambrogio, with whom he has the closest affinity. The first thing which strikes the eye is the simplicity of the painter's palette. It is predominantly red and yellow. Red in two tones is used for the floors, ceilings, and windows and yellow for the buildings and interior walls. More than half of the figures are painted in red with only one

9. Monte Siepi. Church of San Galgano. Galgano's Vision of the Archangel in Rome

saint in yellow and three in light green. The Cistercians naturally had to appear in white. The distribution of color emphasizes the fact that Michael always appears in yellow and Galgano in light green. Dark green, dark blue, purple, and maroon are striking by their absence and they are just the hues which lend such richness to Ambrogio's palette. The forms and gestures and the eyes, ears, chins, mouths, and hands are quite Ambrogian as should be expected from a painter so closely related to that bottega. Pure Morellian tests might fail to discriminate between such striking similarities whereas the sure tests of style — the relationship of parts and the rhythms of the design — disclose an imagination quite different in all its inner workings. The organic quality of Ambrogio is best demonstrated by his rendering of the head as a unit of mass. Each head in the Annunciation and Presentation is a solid sphere which includes the features. The Monte Siepi Master's heads are experienced visually not as three-dimensional masses but more as silhouettes and the head is thought of in two parts — the features and then the cranium. Moreover, the cranium is rather shallow in depth instead of being deep and full rounded like that of Ambrogio. If the profile of the angel at the left of the Majesty, one of the few pure profiles to be found in these frescos, be compared with the profiles of Ambrogio's angels at Massa Marittima, the contrast between the facial planes is self evident. In Ambrogio the forehead, nose, and chin exist in a single vertical plane, while the nose and lower jaw of the Monte Siepi Master's faces protrude beyond the normal front plane of the head. This pulling off of the features shows even more definitely in the seven-eighth and three-quarter poses of the head because the problem of foreshortening made it more difficult for any Trecentist to keep the parts together. The test is whether one thinks first of the head or of the features. Pietro Lorenzetti's features are often twisted at such an angle to the axis of the head that they look as though they might be lifted. The Master of Monte Siepi in this respect lies somewhere between the two brothers. Furthermore, the faces of Ambrogio's figures have the fullness of splendid health and the eyes are set rather deep with a certain fleshiness between the eye and the eyebrow. His feeling for the head as a solid causes him to foreshorten the eyes when painting in profile more than any of his contemporaries do. The Master of Monte Siepi, if we may judge from the few eyes not completely repainted, sets his eyes more deeply than Simone and rather like Pietro's but many of the seven-eighth eyes are too long and the brow lies close above the eye without Ambrogio's fleshy fullness. The attitudes of the figures are orthodox except for the upturned heads of the two Charities. It should be noted that their bodies have no twist and that the suggestion of *contrapposto* is produced simply by the poses of the heads and the hands. Ambrogio at Massa Marittima had already achieved similar effects. What the pose of the kneeling Galgano must have

been can only be conjectured, but from the evidence of the figures in the Majesty the body was probably in rigid three-quarter with only the head turned back toward the Archangel. In any case such a position would have been most original in the early Trecento.

Thus far, the Master of Monte Siepi seems like an accomplished eclectic who gleaned in many fields and especially in the bottega of Ambrogio. However, two traits display an individual touch — his rendering of old saint types and his treatment of architectural setting. Most of the Trecentists found the painting of the inherited types of saints too uninteresting to attempt more than the revivifying of the Byzantine formulae. Their inventiveness blossomed in the creation of highly personal conceptions of the Madonna and Child theme, the angels, and the local saints. In the Majesties of Duccio, Simone, and Ambrogio the hierarchy of traditional saints is quite uninspired although Simone at Assisi created some splendid old men. The Master of Monte Siepi follows the Byzantine iconography in his painting of the two Johns, Peter, and Paul, but he has succeeded in imbuing them with an extraordinary amount of character. His originality becomes positively surprising when he attacks the problem of interior architectural setting. The opening of the loggia in the end wall is identical with the painted border which acts as its frame so that the perspective depth of the room is immediate. In general, early Trecento painters were unable to forget the usage of the Middle Ages whereby setting and environment were suggested by means of conventions. These acted as symbols of things rather than representations. The Sienese rapidly outstripped Florence in trying to make the settings more convincing. Duccio's opening up of doors and windows in his interiors to imply greater depth culminates in 1342 in Pietro's Nativity with its varied perspective and Ambrogio's Presentation which carries the eye back through the nave and choir of the cathedral. But Duccio usually includes a strip of sky above his cross-sections of buildings and even Ambrogio cannot refrain from combining exterior with interior. The Monte Siepi Master's handling is just as sound as Pietro's and his problem is even more complicated. The floor plan comprises an outer loggia with an inner room on one side from which a bedroom extends to the right. Despite this complexity, the design of the setting behind the kneeling Galgano seems correct for the date but the round archway behind the archangel has a later knowingness. In fact the blue of this opening came off like chalk, proving that the present pigment is fairly recent. The relationship between the archangel's wing and the curve of the opening is much too subtle for the early Trecento, whose painters thought of their figures and setting separately, using the objects in the setting chiefly as rhythmic accents for the figure rather than as interwoven with them into a harmonic whole. The original design may have had a rectangular opening corresponding to the

entrance at the side. Indeed the photographic detail seems to show the traces of such an opening, which would make the design agree with that of the Paganico Annunciation painted at the end of the century and derived from the Lorenzettian tradition. Surely the arrangement of the Majesty and the architectural background of the loggia reveal a mind very much alive to the Sienese problems of groupment and setting.

It must be admitted that the Master of Monte Siepi lacks the personality and imagination of the four masters who dominate Siena during the first half of the Trecento, nor has he the same sureness of touch. He works with their models without transforming them wholly into his own idiom and yet many of the figures are very charming and ingenious. Certainly he is the most important of the five or six minor masters whose individualities have been lost in the group of incongruous attributions to Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Although such unknown pupils are frequently not very inspiring, the identification of each one of them helps to clarify the genius of the master with whom they have been confused and, in this instance, the Master of Monte Siepi by virtue of his own ability merits a place among the painters of the Trecento.

PIETRO LORENZETTI

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1320

PIETRO LORENZETTI[1]

By E. T. DeWALD

I

By the year 1300, Gothic art had passed its first great monumental moment in France and was entering upon a gayer and more decorative period which betrayed its lack of religious sincerity and its superficiality. Not so Italy. Starting with a stronger classic background than the north, Italy was affected by the powerful artistic influences which came from Byzantium and the Slavic countries and, in a lesser degree, by those which came from the Ottonian monasteries of the Rhine and Bavaria. This mélange, to which Saracenic elements were also added in the south, was not conducive to the development of a virile style. In fact, art in Italy during the early Middle Ages was in a rather dormant state. Nor was Italy with its predilection for Byzantine forms a particularly receptive or fertile ground for the growth of Gothic ideas in art.

And yet, things were beginning to happen in Italy during the thirteenth century, whether as a reflex of the general stir made elsewhere in Europe by the Gothic movement or as the result of more local initiative. First of all there was the classic revival at the court of Frederic the Second with its resultant effect on Niccolò Pisano. Then, the actual appearance of French Gothic elements in the sculpture of Giovanni Pisano and his school. The latter phenomenon was rather the natural consequence of at least two things. The one was the growing activity of Italian, and particularly of Sienese, merchants and bankers at the fairs of France;[2] which brought French merchandise and taste to Italy. The other was the establishment of French Cistercian monasteries on Italian soil, which brought with it an importation of French cult objects and service books. San Galgano near Siena, and Fossanuova and Casamari nearer Rome were the most important of these foundations.

The Gothic manifestations in the art of Italy at this time were, however, frankly importations and were slow to take root. This was especially true of painting where the old Byzantine traditions were much too tough to be dis-

[1] I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Frank J. Mather, Jr., under whose inspiration and encouragement this study was begun, and to my colleague Prof. George Rowley for many helpful suggestions.

[2] Bourquelot, *Études sur les Foires de Champagne*, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie*, 2d series, tom. V (1865); Paoli, *Siena alle Fiere di Sciampagna*, in *Conferenze della Comm. Sen. di Stor. Patria* (Siena, 1898); Schaube, *Ein Italienischer Coursbericht von der Messe von Troyes*, in *Zeitschrift für Social und Wirtschaftgeschichte*, (1897), vol. V, fasc. 3; Sanesi, *Il Testamento di un Prestatore Senese nella Champagna*. See Scheville, *Siena* (New York, 1919), p. 98, note; Douglas, *History of Siena* (New York, 1902), p. 34, note 2.

lodged so easily. But toward the end of the century Gothic elements were already there. The heavy drapery of Cavallini with its cascading parallel folds betrays them. Similarly are they found in Duccio, though one is apt to overlook them in view of his overwhelmingly Byzantinized types and layout. Giotto shows them more clearly, though Giovanni Pisano is generally held chiefly responsible for the Gothic elements in Giotto's style. Everywhere Gothic architectural forms are manifesting themselves in the frames of altarpieces where the Byzantine panel forms suggestive of enamel plaques still persist.

With the beginning of the fourteenth century, Siena seems to have taken the lead in the adoption of the Gothic style, particularly its decorative phase. The nearness of the French Cistercian colony at San Galgano unquestionably contributed to this Gothic interest as did also the presence of Sienese artists at the Papal court at Avignon. In Simone Martini these decorative Gothic forms have their first great champion in Italian painting, and from that time on become more usual.

It was at the time of this delayed tide of Gothic influences which followed closely in the wake of Byzantine traditions and still mingled with them, that Pietro Lorenzetti began his activities at Siena.

Information about medieval artists is always rather sparse. Pietro Lorenzetti is no exception to the rule. The information we possess about him is drawn in part from certain documents most of which are contracts for paintings, in part from signed works, and in part from Vasari's account of his life, which latter is to be perused with the usual allowance for that biographer's imagination when reconstructing an artist's life at long distance. The evidence from the other two sources is as follows.

The earliest document generally interpreted as referring to Pietro is dated 1305/1306 in which a certain Petruccio di Lorenzo [1] receives a sum of money for some painting on an altarpiece done for the Council of the Nine at Siena. The sum allotted him has been variously read to be either 110 lire or one lira 20 soldi [2] according to the importance which one has wished to attach to the work. As a matter of fact the possibility is just as good that it does not refer to Pietro Lorenzetti at all. The appellation Petruccio does not occur elsewhere for him nor does he use it in his signatures. Furthermore, Petruccio di Lorenzo would be about as unusual as William Johnson might be to-day. There is still another reason why its application to Pietro is to be doubted. The documents and signed works related to Pietro all fall between 1320 and 1342. In this period a definite development can be traced which reached its maturity about 1340, when the painter was surely no more than 45 or 50

[1] Milanese, *Documenti Senesi* (Siena, 1856), vol. I, p. 194.

[2] See *Ibid.*; also Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1906), vol. IIb, p. 858.

2. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

3. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Baptist.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

4. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. Matthew.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

years old, which would preclude any important artistic creation at the tender age of 10 or 15 years. The definite data concerning him are as follows.

1320, April 17, the commission for the altarpiece in the Pieve at Arezzo,[1] which altarpiece also bears his signature.

1326, payment of 20 lire for the painting of certain pictures in the Casa dell'Opera of the Duomo at Siena.[2]

1329, October 26 and December 29, documents concerning the altarpiece for the monks of Sta. Maria del Carmine at Siena.[3]

1329, a lost altarpiece described by Milanese as at Sant' Ansano.[4]

1329, an altarpiece for the Church of the Umiliati at Siena.[5]

1333, a payment of two pounds for the painting of the new door of the Duomo at Siena.[6] This was a Madonna mentioned by Milanese as repainted by Luca di Tomè.[7]

1335, a payment of 90 pounds as the first instalment for an altarpiece of San Savino for the Duomo at Siena. A master Ciecho received one pound for translating the stories of the saint into the familiar tongue for the use of the painter.[8]

1335, frescoes on the façade of the Spedale at Siena illustrating stories from the life of the Virgin. Pecci, a writer of the eighteenth century, still saw the inscription which read, "Hoc opus fecit Petrus Laurentii et Ambrosius eius frater MCCCXXXV."[9] These frescoes were probably destroyed when the roof was removed in 1720.

1337, an altarpiece for the Church of San Martino at Siena.[10]

1337, an interesting document recording the payment of one pound eleven soldi and nine denarii by Pietro for a license to carry arms "senza tavolaccio."[11] This notice is to be compared to a similar one concerning Lorenzo Maitani, who was awarded the rights of citizenship at Orvieto in 1310 and given the privilege to "carry whatever arms he wished without penalty either in the city or in its suburbs."[12] These records show that the conditions in Italian cities were similar to those in northern Europe, where citizens were not allowed to carry arms within the city limits without special grant or license.

1340, the painting of a Madonna for San Francesco at Pistoia, now in the Uffizi at Florence, signed "Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit Anno Domini MCCCXL."[13]

[1] Borghesi e Bianchi, *Nuovi Documenti* (Siena, 1898), p. 10; Vasari, ed. Sansoni (Firenze, 1878), vol. I, p. 475.

[2] Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 194. Cavalcaselle suggested in this connection four panels which are in the Opera del Duomo at Siena. Hutton, Perkins, and Berenson have attributed them to Ambrogio. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton (New York, London, 1909), vol. II, pp. 75 and 76, note 1; Perkins, *La Vita di Pietro Laurati* (Firenze, 1912), p. 32; Berenson, *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York, 1909), p. 187.

[3] Milanese, *loc. cit.*

[4] Milanese, *loc. cit.*, described as the Madonna with St. Peter, two bishop-saints and two angels.

[5] Tizio, *apud* Della Valle, *Lettere Senese* (Rome, 1785), vol. II, p. 208.

[6] Milanese, *loc. cit.*

[7] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 651, note 3.

[8] Milanese, *loc. cit.* Cavalcaselle in the 1885 edition of C. and C., vol. III, p. 201, note 1, suggests that the small panel in the National Gallery representing three saints before an emperor is a part of this altarpiece (see p. 158 of this article).

[9] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, pp. 471–472; Della Valle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 209; Ugurieri, *Pompe Senese*, vol. II; Pecci, *apud* Della Valle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 209; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 121.

[10] Della Valle, vol. II, p. 208.

[11] Von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin and Stettin, 1827), vol. II, p. 108.

[12] Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1891), p. 2.

[13] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 473.

1342, the painting of the large triptych of the Birth of the Virgin now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, signed, "Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit A.MCCCXLII."

1342, a record concerning an investment in real estate. On September 24 Pietro bought two plots of land at Bibbiano for Cola and Martino, the children of the late Tino da Camaino, from one Pietro Stefano di Benintendi.[1]

1344, September 18, Pietro and his wife Joanna, acting for the children of Tino da Camaino, sold six acres of land to brother Simone Orlandi for the price of forty pounds.[2]

Except for the undated signature on a diptych at Altenburg,[3] Germany, there is no other first-hand information about Pietro. All mention of his name ends abruptly with the year 1344, which has caused it to be conjectured that he fell a victim to the plague which ravaged Italy in 1348. De Nicola published an interesting notice of an altarpiece mentioned by Suarez as done for the Franciscan church at Avignon.[4] It bore the inscription, "Hoc opus fecit fieri Dns Bentivenis Gutii decanus Sci Joanis Leoden. dioc. Petrus de Senis me pinxit." With this notice is another which mentions a picture in the same church by "Lippus et Tedericus de Senis Memmi," and bearing the date 1347. Venturi [5] relates this to Pietro Lorenzetti and suspects that he betook himself to Avignon after the death of Simone Martini. "Petrus de Senis" is not necessarily Pietro Lorenzetti, but he of all the painting Peters of Siena at that time would have the right to call himself *the* Peter of Siena. But even this acceptance does not prove his actual presence at Avignon, as the altarpiece could have been sent from Siena.

Vasari enlarges these documentations by ascribing works to Pietro at Monte Oliveto, at Florence, at Pisa, at St. Peter's in Rome, at Cortona, and at Arezzo in the monastery of Saints Fiora and Lucilla.

II

In order to acquire a sound impression of an artist's style one should obviously give careful attention and study to his certified works. Yet so frequently attributions of varying degrees of reasonableness are drawn into the discussion, attributions which consequently have a tendency to color or even to obscure the true style of the artist. In no field of art research has this tendency been more pronounced and more productive of confusing results than in that of Italian primitives. The attribution fever has been raging for at least a quarter of a century, and the methods employed have frequently been such that the last link in a chain of attributions had but the most

[1] Borghesi e Bianchi, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, 1897), vol. III, Pls. 10 and 11.
[4] DeNicola, *L'Affresco di Simone Martini* in *L'Arte* (1906), p. 340, and notes 5 and 6 of that page.
[5] Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1907), vol. V, p. 678.

5. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece. St. John the Evangelist.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

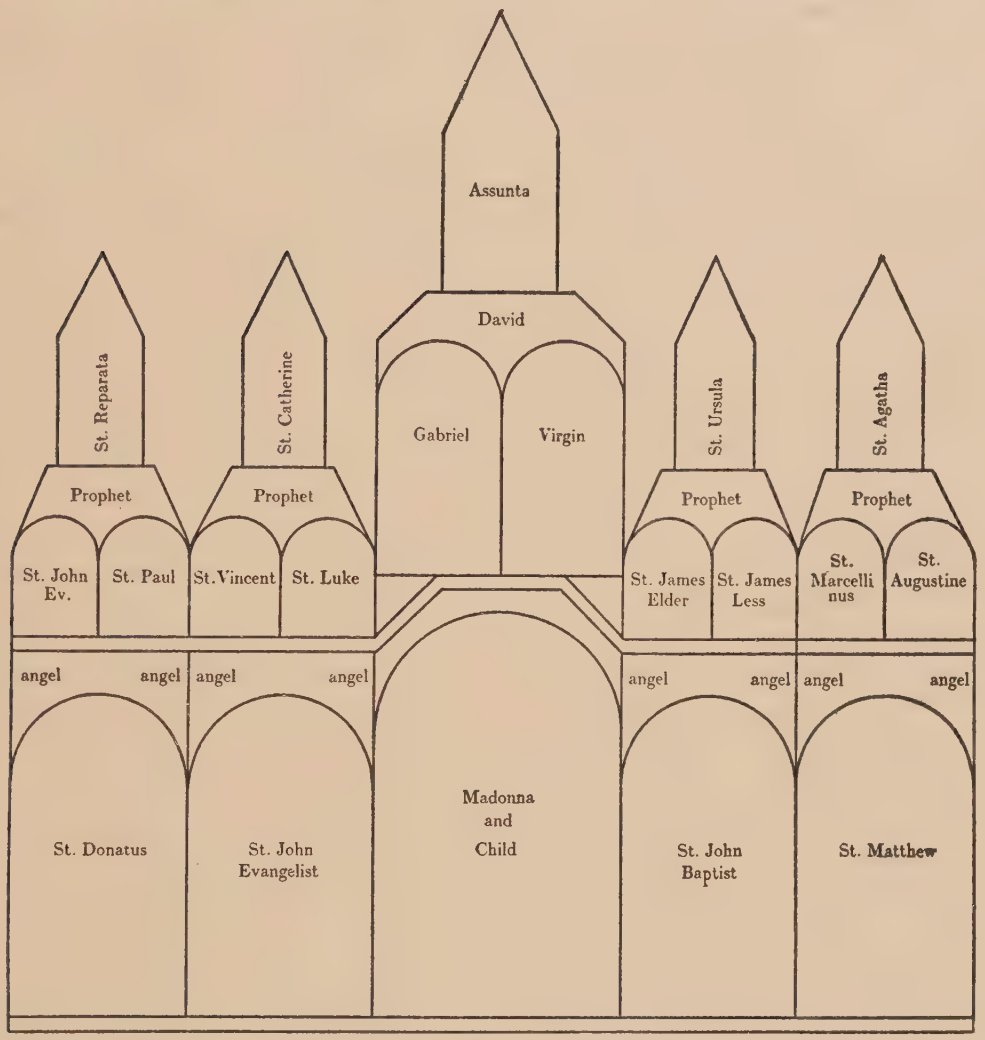
6. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). St. Donatus.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

7. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Annunciation. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

superficial resemblance to the first. The Lorenzetti have come in for their share of such treatment. Consequently, it might be profitable at least to turn to their authentic works in order to acquire a clear conception of style. It must be pointed out at this juncture that the study of Italian primitives is definitely hampered by the wholesale restoration and repainting to which they have been subjected. The more modern methods of repainting are at times



of extreme expertness so that the mere study of a photograph is often quite misleading.

The earliest authenticated painting done by Pietro Lorenzetti is the altar-piece in the Pieve at Arezzo (Figs. 1–8).[1] It is both documented and signed. The document has interest because it gives detailed specifications for the size, colors to be used, subjects to be represented, and the salary which the painter

[1] See p. 133, note 1.

is to receive. For a time the altarpiece was in the city museum but it now occupies its pristine position on the high altar minus, however, the Gothic finials which at one time adorned it. In its form the altarpiece is a more elaborate derivative of Duccio's polyptych in the Accademia at Siena because of the insertion of angels in the spandril spaces of the lower saints, and of the tondi with prophet figures in the spandrels of the second row. The central panel above the Virgin and Child is also given greater prominence than in the Duccian altarpiece by using the theme of the Annunciation though the subdivision of the panel by a colonnette is the same.

As the diagram on the previous page indicates, the whole of the central vertical axis of the altarpiece has been dedicated to the Virgin, who together with St. Donatus was the patron of the Pieve at Arezzo.

I am publishing here for the first time details from this altarpiece, which is one of the most delightful of the Trecento. The Annunciation panel shows work of extreme beauty and expression which takes its place beside the other famous Annunciations of the earlier Trecento by Giotto, Simone, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. And the Assumption pinnacle, in spite of the repainting of the aureole of angels, and in spite of its reduced size, loses none of its vigor of expression. The figure is designed with great finesse to fit the form of its frame.

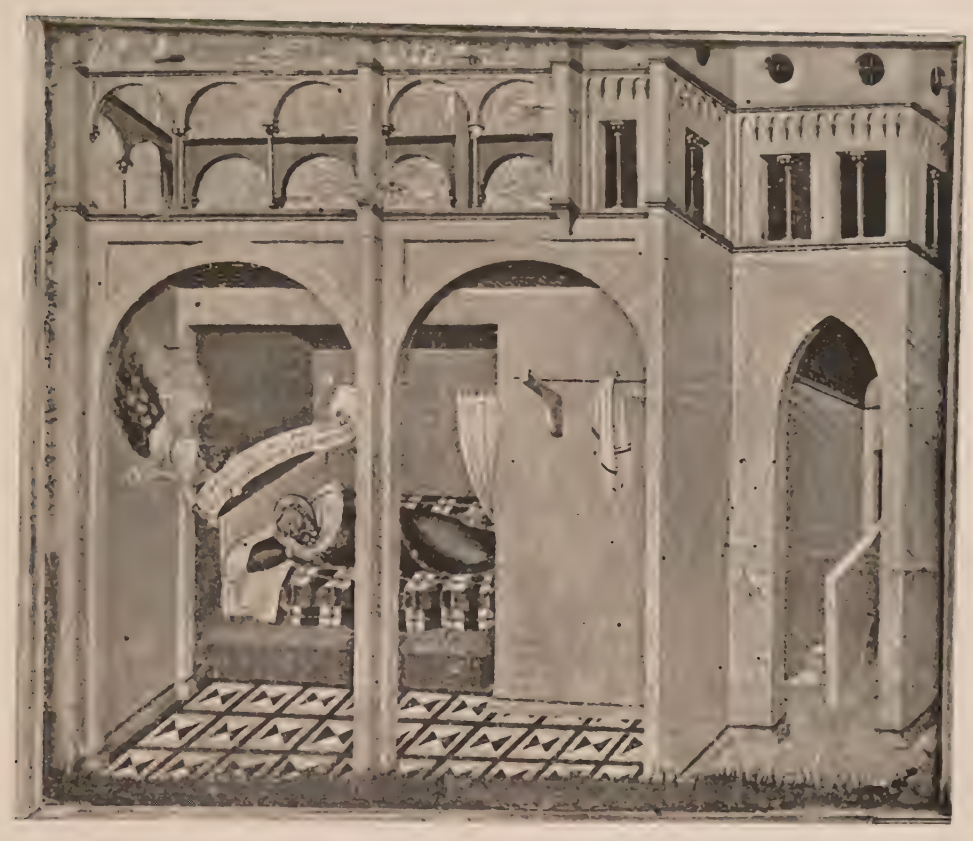
A study of the style of the figures in this altarpiece reveals the evidences of that amalgamation of Byzantine and Gothic elements which was taking place in the early Trecento in Italy. The angel types in the spandrels of the lower panels and the lower saints are Byzantinized Duccian derivatives, but they have more Gothic bulk and their expressions are more motivated. The most striking detail of expression which becomes a favorite one with Pietro is the sort of contrapostal look, found here, for example, in the two Saints John as well as in many of the other saints and angels, where the direction of the gaze is almost at right angles to the axial direction of the head. The younger saints in the upper row with their short-haired bobs and the female saints in the pinnacles are more Gothic in appearance than Byzantine; the latter group are related to the female saints in the Maestàs of Lippo Memmi and Simone Martini. The Madonna does not resemble too much either the Duccian or the Memmian traditions. Her attitude of holding the Child high to one side and gazing at it intently while gathering the folds of her mantle in her right hand is patterned after Gothic Madonnas, in particular after Giovanni Pisano's, for example, the Madonna of Prato. This Gothic or Pisanesque influence is further discernible throughout the altarpiece in the treatment of the drapery, which is cast broadly across shoulders, arms, and thighs so as to accentuate the idea of the form, or else swung in rhythmic folds and simple curves with telling decorative effect and with not too much insistence as yet on the plastic

8. Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. Altarpiece (detail). The Assumption of the Virgin.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

9. Siena. S. Ansano a Dofana. The Carmelite Madonna. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1329

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY



10. Siena. Accademia, 83. Vision of Sobach. Pietro Lorenzetti

11. Siena. Accademia, 83. Honorius IV approves Carmelite Rule.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

effect. The ermine lining of the Madonna's mantle recalls that of the female saints beside the Madonna in the San Gimignano Maestà, which is three years older than Pietro's altarpiece; the fashion is probably a French importation.

The facial types have striking features. The eyes are very almond-shaped and are pinched to a squint at the corners, an evident derivative again from Gothic sculpture of the later thirteenth century in France. The noses are long and slightly thickened at the tip. The lips are pursed, and the chins soft and rounded almost into a pout. When seen in profile the features are crowded to one side of the face leaving a broad expanse of cheek. The articulation of hands and feet is extremely accomplished, emphasizing the roundness of the wrists, the conical form of the hand proper, or the angular, bending qualities of fingers and toes. The forefinger is frequently more widely separated from the middle finger and bent to give a triangular effect, for example, the hand of St. Matthew, or that of the Christ Child, or of the Annunciata.

A closer examination of the panels also discloses repainting and modification; one may note in the St. John the Baptist how the usual unkempt flying locks have been scratched off so as to give a smoother effect.

In 1329 Pietro painted a large altarpiece of which the central panel is now the property of the Chapel of Sant'Ansano at Dofana (Fig. 9). It was at one time in the Accademia at Siena, but when I last saw it it was located in the house next to the Chapel at Dofana. This altarpiece I have elsewhere identified as the supposedly lost Carmelite altarpiece [1] for which there are two documents on record. The evidence for my identification is briefly this. The two documents dated October 26 and December 29 for the year 1329 tell of the request for a loan by the brothers of the Carmelite order and the granting of it by the Gran Consiglio de la Campana in order that the monks might pay for an altarpiece "in which the Virgin Mary and the most Blessed Confessor Nicholas, and the apostles and martyrs, confessors and virgins, have been painted most exquisitely and earnestly by master Pietro Lorenzetti of Siena." [2]

The panel at Dofana represents a large frontal Madonna enthroned in state, with four angels behind the throne and with St. Nicholas to the left and St. Anthony the abbot to the right. The large size of the figures and the hieratic position of the Madonna in themselves indicate that this is merely the central remnant of a huge altarpiece in which the Madonna was surrounded by a heavenly court of saints and angels like the Duccian retable and the Memmian frescoes at Siena and San Gimignano. Along the lower rim of the Virgin's throne runs the inscription, "Petrus Laureti de Senis me

[1] *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXIV (1920), pp. 73–76.

[2] See p. 133, note 3. Also DeNicola, *Arte Inedita in Siena, Vita d'Arte*, 1912.

pinsit A.D. MCCCXXVIIII." Because of the condition of the panel only a tip of the last "I" was visible when I saw it. This has evidently escaped those who have read the date as 1328. Below and to the right of this signature one reads, "Elyas Pha," designating the saint to the right of the Virgin who has since been repainted to represent St. Anthony the abbot. And in a corresponding position on the other side of the Virgin is "S. Nicholaus" for the saint who has been more fortunate in retaining his identity. The two original saints flanking the Virgin were, then, Elijah and St. Nicholas. Elijah is not a common appearance in Italian art. But according to the tradition he was the original founder of the Carmelite order.[1] The legend relates that the early Carmelite hermits built a monastery near the fountain of Helias (Elijah) on Mt. Carmel, and also an oratory to the Virgin, whence the appellation of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel. On any altarpiece executed for the Carmelites the figure of Elijah in a position of importance next to the Virgin would be practically a foregone conclusion. (He appears also on the altarpiece by Giovanni d'Asciano in the oratory of San Niccolo [2] near the Carmine at Florence.) In Pietro's altarpiece Elijah's position is rendered doubly conspicuous by the gesture of the Christ Child in his direction, just as the figure of St. Francis is emphasized by the gesture of the Madonna in the fresco group in the Lower Church of that saint at Assisi.

In this panel Pietro still shows his partial dependence on the traditions of Duccio and the Memmi. The four angels behind the throne recall Duccio's only in the arrangement, and the Madonna has the courtly attitude of Simone or Lippo even to the fastening of the mantle and the sweep of its bordered hem down around the arm of the Virgin. The deeper Gothic folds of the lap drapery indicate the same tradition. But in the types, the growth and crystallization of Pietro's facial characteristics are apparent. This appears most definitely in the angels, who are quite emancipated from the Duccian type. With this development of type goes a greater sense of bulk, which is emphasized by the broader handling of the drapery. Despite the repainting, from which the Madonna and the Elijah have suffered most, the figures have great dignity and solemnity, against which the playful attitude of the Child is thrown into contrast.

The four panels with episodes from the history of the Carmelite order which are in the Accademia at Siena [3] are unquestionably a part of the predella of this altarpiece (Figs. 10–13). The facial types and the handling of the forms and the drapery are definitely in the style of Pietro at this period. They

[1] Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Stor.-Eccl.* (Venice, 1841), vol. X, pp. 44 ff., 52 ff.

[2] Note that Nicholas is also a favorite saint of the Carmelites, and that he is called for in the document of 1329.

[3] Nos. 83 and 84, two panels to each number. For the original attributions see: Milanese, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 193–194; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 78; Berenson, *C. I. P.*, p. 189; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 672–673; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 6; van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (Hague, 1924), vol. II, p. 346.

12. Siena. Accademia, 84. Fountain of Helias. Pietro Lorenzetti

13. Siena. Accademia, 84. Honorius IV orders the White Habit.
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

14. Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. Madonna and Child.
Pietro Lorenzetti

15. Altenburg. Lindenau Museum. The Dead Christ.
Pietro Lorenzetti

(Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

16. Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1340

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

are extremely informative of Pietro's attitude toward space composition and will be discussed later in that connection. The scenes represented are: Carmelite hermits at the fountain of Helias; the granting of the rule by Honorius IV; Honorius IV orders the use of the white habit; the dream of Sobach, Elijah's father.

To approximately this period belong the two small panels in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg [1] (Figs. 14, 15). On the one is a half-length Madonna caressing the Christ Child, who is wrapped in swaddling clothes. On the other is the half-figure of the dead Christ. The latter panel bears the signature, "Petrus Lauretii de Seni me pixi." The Madonna panel has a crack down the centre and has been retouched where the crack had ruined the features. The repaint, however, has taken away all the quality of Pietro's features and exhibits at present a rather soft, modern-looking face. The Christ has retained more of the pristine style.

When Pietro painted his Pistoia Madonna, now in the Uffizi, in 1340,[2] his style had assumed a more set, a more solid quality (Figs. 16–18). The forms are all more fleshy and seem ready to burst the rather tight-fitting garments. The draperies are also given greater weight and break into angular folds as they strike the ground, in the manner of Giovanni Pisano's drapery. As a matter of fact, Pietro must have been definitely impressed by Giovanni's work at Pistoia, for the two angels standing with folded arms beside the throne of the Madonna are evidently inspired by the Sibyls on the Pistoia pulpit. Wedded to his usual seriousness of content, this later style gives even greater dignity to his whole group. And the whole effect of simplified massiveness is heightened by the profuse elaboration of the tooling of the haloes and brocade accessories. There is not much change in his types, in which his established facial peculiarities still persist. How he loves to portray the conical rotundity of the hands, or the flat parallel accents of bent fingers! Incidentally the picture has been very much cleaned and scrubbed, as the details of the angels in particular show.

Two years later Pietro painted the Nativity of the Virgin now in the Opera del Duomo at Siena, in which all the great qualities of the master are epitomized (Figs. 19, 20). It is a scene in which a tremendous sense of dignity is conveyed by all the figures, this dignity being emphasized by their expressions and by the massive, plastic qualities they all possess. Pietro shows himself interested in a similar development of form-rendering to that practised by Giovanni Pisano and Giotto. It was of course the influence of Gothic art, but that particular side of Gothic art in which the plastic elements of form and

[1] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vol. III, Pls. 10 and 11; Schmarsow, in *Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 151–152.

[2] See p. 133, note 13.

drapery were stressed as opposed to the other side which placed its main emphasis on the decorative, emotional elements of line, such as one sees in Duccio and Simone, though in Simone one often finds the combination of both. The more plastic tradition is characteristic of the thirteenth century in France, while the decorative is more essentially of the fourteenth. In the former the drapery is cast in broad masses over body surfaces and falls to the ground, either in simple cascades or in straight lines, breaking into angular folds when it strikes the ground. Such is its use in Giotto and Giovanni Pisano, and such is its use in Pietro's later style. In the Nativity of the Virgin, the sense of bulk in the figure of St. Anne and the feeling of tightness and stretch over the legs and thighs is extraordinary and is conveyed almost entirely by the handling of the drapery. Analogies to this figure are to be found in Giovanni Pisano's Nativity in the Pistoia pulpit and in Giotto's Nativity in the Arena Chapel at Padua. Similarly analogies for the drapery of the two female figures who are bringing in gifts are seen in Giovanni Pisano's Presentation on the Siena pulpit, in the figures of the angels and the Madonna at the sides of that scene, or in any of the corner figures of the pulpit, likewise in the Paduan Madonna or the grouped caryatid figures which were formerly the central support of the Pisan pulpit.

Pietro's expressional realisms have rarely been more effective than in this picture. The tired expression of the old St. Anne as she feebly props herself up on one arm to receive the felicitations of her friends after her travail, the spirit of happy congratulation of the foremost of the women, the gossiping of the two who follow, the earnest attention of the midwives to their business, or, the intense anxiety of the old Joachim to hear the news told by the eager boy in contrast to the calm of the gentle old man who came to keep his friend company during the anxious hours — these all combine to make this one of the most expressive accomplishments of the Trecento.

The setting of the scene in its handling of the space problem is also rather striking when compared with Duccio's or Giotto's methods of handling space. The number of Pietro's surviving space compositions are few, but they are instructive. The earliest is the Annunciation panel in the Arezzo altarpiece (Fig. 7). Here the space represented is seen from a slight angle, and is disposed slightly asymmetrically with greater architectural emphasis given to the Madonna's side by means of the upper loggia. No attempt is made to relate the figures to the space, as both Gabriel and the Madonna would experience considerable discomfort should they attempt to rise from their positions. This seems so much the more extraordinary seeing that Pietro is really interested in depicting space by the rather novel inclusion of the colonnette which divides the panel in his architectural scheme. In three of the predella panels from the Carmelite altarpiece he has related figures and space much more

17. Florence. Uffizi. Madonna and Child (detail). Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

18. Florence. Uffizi. Detail of Angels. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

19. Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin. Pietro Lorenzetti, 1342

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

naturally (Figs. 10–13). In all three he repeats the oblique point of view and accentuates the asymmetrical arrangement still more. This asymmetry is complementary to the rather narrative quality of the scenes depicted, and is so arranged as to give the effect of a tall narrow rectangle set alongside of a broader and almost square one. Greater depth is suggested by doors and windows opening into back apartments. But by showing portions of the sky or of gold background above the shorter portion of the composition the artist gives somewhat of the effect of a doll-house with one wall removed. Both Giotto and Duccio used the asymmetrical and oblique architectural backgrounds for their scenes. Both, however, also used the centralized one. And Giotto in several of the Sta. Croce frescoes, for example, the Granting of the Rule, and the Vision of Brother Augustine, combines an asymmetrical ceiling perspective which indicates the point of view of the spectator with an entirely symmetrical architectural setting. With Giotto and Duccio the rather arbitrary cardboard, doll-house construction of these settings is much more apparent than with Pietro. Neither of the former grasped the full possibilities of the column as an aid in rendering spatial effects, for their figures are often to be seen partly in front of or partly behind a column. In this respect Pietro shows an advance. And in the Siena Nativity he brings his idea to its highest development (Fig. 19). The cardboard-box quality is entirely gone as the result of using the colonnettes and arches of the frame construction as integral parts of his composition. And in that way he attempts a unity of space between the spectator and the scene. The germ of this treatment was already apparent in the Arezzo Annunciation panel. But he goes even further. On the left side of the picture he opens up a vista into the back of the house which emphasizes still more the effect of space and airiness. Pietro seems to have sensed here similar principles of asymmetrical space-balance as Titian employed in more accomplished form where a deep but narrow void is used to balance a wider but shallower solid. Giotto in the Presepe at Assisi and Duccio in the Christ before Herod and in the Temptation panels at Siena had attempted to give additional suggestions of depth to their compositions, but the space unity and the element of balance did not enter into their schemes. Pietro still sticks to his habitual asymmetrical composition of rectangles in this panel, but he has adapted it very cleverly to the symmetrical triptych of the frame by having the larger room divided into two bays. And he is very careful to have his figures stay behind the columns, thus using them rather consciously to effect the space illusion. This problem of space composition seems to have interested both Pietro and Ambrogio. They must have worked at such problems together, for Ambrogio's Presentation in the Temple offers very definite solutions of space composition and perspective.

I have sought to bring out in the discussion of these documented accomplishments of Pietro Lorenzetti the peculiarities of types and composition which best characterize his style. There is after all an extraordinary consistency in his development. The differences between his earlier and later works are not very great. They consist chiefly in a greater sense of bulk and solidity in his later style, which is accompanied by a greater plastic rendering of the drapery. The thinner and almost web-like radiating folds of the mantles of St. John the Baptist and the Virgin in the Arezzo altarpiece take on greater plasticity in the Carmelite Madonna and reach their developed stage in the Uffizi panel. He consciously chose this type of drapery as a fitting accompaniment to the dignity and seriousness of his content in preference to the more calligraphic type of drapery. And this seriousness of content is consistently maintained throughout his development. As for the minor details of his facial types and attitudes there is very little modification to be noted.

It might be interesting to point out the differences in his angel types in the various altarpieces. In the Arezzo altarpiece they are still semi-Duccian. Their hair is rolled back and held by a simple circlet. Over their tunics they wear mantles edged with a special border and held together at the breast by a jewelled pin. In the Carmine panel they are without these mantles but wear elaborately panelled costumes in the manner of Byzantine archangels. At the neck they have low V-shaped collars over which a soft, wavy, veil-like material projects after the fashion of the costume of St. Savinus in the Duccio Maestà or of Saints Donatus, Vincent, and Marcellinus in the Arezzo altarpiece. Their hair has a more pronounced saucer-cut bang over the forehead than previously noticed. In the Uffizi panel the same type of headdress is used. The costumes are simple robes gathered in baggy folds at the waist and fit tight like jerseys about the arms, neck, and shoulders.

Similarly, differences may be remarked in the headdress of his Virgin types. In the earlier Arezzo and Carmine Madonnas he uses a mantle which covers only the back half of the head, allowing a thin, transparent veil to project and cover the front of the hair. In the Uffizi Madonna the mantle covers the entire head and only a narrow edge of an opaque veil projects along the front of it. This later type seems a throwback to the earlier Sienese tradition found in Duccio and his followers.

III

Our impression of Pietro Lorenzetti, then, from the consideration of his documented works is one of a sturdy and serious personality whose artistic roots lie both in Byzantine and Gothic traditions. From the Byzantine he takes the accessories, the minor elements of his pictures, such as the angel and saint types and the use of gold hatchings on the wings and the drapery.

20. Siena. Opera del Duomo. Nativity of the Virgin (detail).
Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

21. Cortona. Cathedral. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

22. Montichiello. S. Leonardo e S. Cristoforo. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

But from the Gothic he draws the inspiration for the spirit which pervades his work and for the realistic expression which develops in his types as he progresses. From the Gothic also comes his sense of rendering solid forms and drapery, which puts across to the spectator a definite impression of a determined, eager, powerful, and capable personality, who from choice and disposition puts aside the more delicate, prettified, and sumptuous creations of a Simone and his milieu. As a consequence we are unable to attribute to such a virile personality many of the panels which have been attached to his name.

The problem of the attributions to Pietro Lorenzetti is characteristic of a great many others in the history of connoisseurship in painting. Nineteenth-century connoisseurship was extremely fond of attaching well-known and famous names to every new picture which appeared on the horizon. Collectors and dealers wanted big names, which often interested them more than the actual quality of the painting. One has only to consult the older guidebooks and catalogues or visit some of the older collections where many absurd attributions still persist to realize how far afield this mania went. Many, it is true, have since been relegated to the more modest "School of" category. The more impersonal attitude of modern scholarship, which is interested in establishing as true a picture of the development of styles as is possible, has been largely responsible for this change. Many new and important personalities have emerged from the erstwhile closed circle of celebrities. And indeed why not? It would be an absurdity to suppose that the majority of Sienese primitives, let us say from between 1280 and 1350, are the works of Duccio, Segna, Ugolino, Simone, and the Lorenzetti since the names of many artists of that period exist whose works are unknown to us, and since the probability of many more personalities exists whose names have not survived in the records.

I shall first consider in more or less chronological order those attributions which seem to me sound, with perhaps an occasional addition or adjustment.

The first of the attributions to Pietro which I shall accept is the Madonna in the Cathedral of Cortona [1] (Fig. 21). And it would seem that in accepting her I should have to place her rather early in the list of Pietro's accomplishments, certainly closer to the Arezzo altarpiece than to the Carmelite Madonna. Venturi had been disposed to place her about 1335.[2] But the generally Ducciesque quality of the work, with the Madonna of a type very slightly re-

[1] Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Italian ed., 1885), vol. III, pp. 205–206; ed. Douglas (London, 1908), vol. III, pp. 107, note 9, and 110; ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 89, note; Thode, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 8; Rothes, *Die Blütezeit der Sienesischen Malerei*, p. 17; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 57; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674; Gnoli, in *Rassegna d'Arte Umbra*, 1909–10, p. 24; DeNicola, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1919, p. 96; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 69; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326; Cecchi, *Les Peintres Siennois* (Paris, 1928), p. 88.

[2] Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674.

moved from Duccio's Maestà, the types of the angels which find their counterparts in the same altarpiece by Duccio and which are not yet as definitely Lorenzettian as those of 1329, together with the type of throne, make it imperative to date the panel somewhere in the twenties. As for the throne, it is the same heavy, panelled type common in the earlier Sienese paintings prior to 1330. But whereas these latter are usually of stone and done in the tradition of Cosmati work, the throne in the Cortona panel suggests a simplification of that type minus the mosaic work so common with the Cosmati and minus the leaf cornices. It gives the effect of a wooden throne, and as such would be among the earliest of the wooden thrones which later have a tendency to supplant the stone ones.

The hand of Pietro betrays itself quite readily in the types of the faces. The angels, although strongly Duccian, have that crowded arrangement of facial features with squint eyes, long curved nose, and pursed lips which we have designated as characteristic of Pietro. They wear their hair rolled about a ribbon or circlet — and without a bang over the forehead — like the angels in the Arezzo altarpiece. The angel to the lower left has the typical contrapostal look found so frequently with Pietro, in which the direction of the gaze is in the opposite direction from the axial direction of the head. The two Saints John on the Arezzo altarpiece furnish good examples of this trait. Note also as characteristic of Pietro the fleshy wrist of the Madonna, the careful articulation of feet and hands, and the usual splaying of the forefinger and middle fingers which, in the case of the angels, is so exaggerated as to form triangles.

Next in chronological order I should place the Madonna and Child in the church of San Leonardo e San Cristoforo at Montichiello near Pienza [1] (Fig. 22). It is one of Pietro's most charming early Madonnas, though it has suffered by repainting and mutilation. At present only the immediate background enclosed within the arched outline has the original gold ground. The rest is painted blue and has a ribboned inscription, "Mater Puritatis." I date the panel early for several reasons which seem convincing to me. The general silhouette of the Madonna is slenderer than Pietro's later style and is closer in its feeling to the Arezzo Madonna. Besides that, the Madonna wears the early type of mantle which covers only the rear half of her head. And also the haloes of both the Madonna and the Christ Child are of the incised type which Pietro used in the Arezzo altarpiece following the Duccian tradition.

[1] Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 4; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

23. Florence. Horne Collection. St. Benedict, St. Catherine, St. Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

24. Le Mans. Museum. St. Margaret (?). Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

25. Assisi. Lower church. Madonna, St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

I surmise that the three half-length saints in the Horne Collection at Florence [1] (Fig. 23) and the female saint in the Museum at Le Mans [2] (Fig. 24) were once a part of the same altarpiece as the Montichiello Madonna or at least of the same period. But the generally slender proportions, the silhouette of the Horne St. Margaret's face, which is identical to that of the Montichiello Madonna, the arrangement of the features in the face, the beaded border with panelled inserts of St. Catherine's robe, which again is similar to the mantle of the Montichiello Virgin, and the treatment of the haloes, seem surely to argue for the assumption that they belonged to the same altarpiece. As for the haloes, the incised design of curled leaves which is found on the Madonna's halo at Montichiello is identical to that of the Horne St. Margaret.

Certainly, at a date not far removed from the Montichiello Madonna, Pietro painted the fresco Madonna group with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist in the lower church at Assisi (Fig. 25). Although I shall discuss the frescoes elsewhere in this article, I wish to insert the Assisi Madonna here because of its obviously close connection with the Montichiello Madonna in style. The Christ Child is the same pert, eager little fellow, appearing a bit more restrained in the Assisi painting. The way His feet are held in by the Madonna is almost identical in both cases. The Madonna's costume is practically the same in both representations and rather different from Pietro's iconography both earlier and later. It consists of a mantle which covers only half the Madonna's head in Pietro's usual early style, but then sweeps across from her left cheek over to the right shoulder. The drapery over the Madonna's right arm is then disposed in three layers, the mantle, a fringed cape beneath, and the fold over the lower arm, the disposition of which is identical with only very minor deviations in the two Madonnas. The thin features of the side saints also recall the Horne types in spite of the repaint of the Assisi fresco.

The huge painted crucifix in San Marco at Cortona [3] (Fig. 26) displays the characteristics of this earlier period in the spider-like folds of the drapery, which recall Arezzo, and in the refined and rather thin facial features. It is a very impressive Christ after the Giottesque type and will serve as an excellent comparison with the Assisi Crucifixion.

[1] Perkins, *Vita di Pietro Laurati*, p. 37; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1914), p. 98; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

[2] Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1914), p. 98; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188 (called St. Agatha); van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363.

[3] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370, note 2; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois* (Paris, 1926), p. 65; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 110.

The Madonna in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia and formerly in the Chigi Saracini Collection at Siena[1] (Fig. 27) marks Pietro's transition to the heavier, bulkier type of his later period. This bulky type is already established in the Carmelite Madonna of 1329. And here in the Johnson Madonna he calls attention to his transition by the fact that he exaggerates the thickness of the Madonna's neck and hand and of the child's body, while the type of the Madonna, her pose, and the decorative treatment of her mantle still recall the Arezzo Virgin. The haloes are still of the incised type, whereas in the Carmelite Madonna the punched type inaugurated by Simone is already used by Pietro. Another transitional feature is the throne, which is evidently a wooden one, but imitates in wood the mosaic inlay of the earlier Cosmatesque thrones of marble.

With this Johnson Madonna I would associate two small panels, each containing the bust of an angel, which were formerly in the collection of Count Ourousoff at Vienna [2] and more recently attached to a later panel in the Carl Hamilton Collection at New York (Fig. 31). The panels are of a peculiar shape which betrays that they were at one time spandrel fillers for a panel topped by a trilobed arch. The attitude of the angels as they gaze downward with folded arms suggests that they were the parts of a Madonna composition. As a matter of fact the Johnson panel has a trilobed arch at the top and the measurements of the angel panels fit it exactly. I reproduce a photograph of a restoration of the original composition. The style of the angels' heads checks with that of the Johnson Madonna. They are emancipated from the Duccian tradition and are closer to the Carmelite angels, which are more individually Pietran. Even the wavy lines of the soft material about their throats are like the Carmelite angels', though this feature also appears in the earlier figures of St. Donatus in the Arezzo altarpiece. The hair of the angels is still rolled in the earlier fashion without the bang. In the Carmelite panel the bang makes its appearance.

The two panels (nos. 62 and 64)[3] in the Siena Accademia each containing two male saints (St. Thaddeus, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and St. James) under pointed cusped arches and with a prophet bust between each pair of saints, though not in the best condition, seem to belong close to the Carmelite Madonna (Figs. 28, 29). A comparison of the profile of St. James with that of the angel at the extreme right in the Carmelite panel reveals a very close re-

[1] No. 91. Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 40; Berenson, *Catalogue of the Johnson Collection* (Philadelphia, 1913), *Italian Paintings*, p. 52. In Douglas's *History of Siena* (p. 369), it is attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 608, and vol. V, p. 457; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912 (vol. XXXII), p. 454.

[2] Suida, *Oesterreichische Kunstschätze* (Vienna, 1911), vol. I, Pl. X.

[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, notes 4 and 5; Perkins, *op. cit.* p. 30; Dami, *La Galleria di Siena* (Siena, 1924), p. 15; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370.

26. Cortona. S. Marco. Crucifix. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

27. Philadelphia. Johnson Collection. Madonna and Child with donor. Angels added from Carl Hamilton Collection, New York City. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

28. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

lationship. They might even be parts of this great altarpiece, and the weaker handling of some of the details may easily be due to that bottega assistance which is always on hand in a big job.

Bearing the date of 1332 is a group of three pinnacles (nos. 79, 81, 82)[1] in the Accademia at Siena (Figs. 30–32). These panels give us a conception of the continuation of Pietro's style in the thirties of the Trecento. The saints represented are St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, and St. John the Baptist. The panels come from Sta. Cecilia a Crevole and were surely made for that place in view of the presence of St. Cecilia among the saints represented and in view of the position which this panel evidently had in the original altarpiece. They are parts of a polyptych of which the Madonna panel and the saint on the right end of the altarpiece are now missing. The arrangement must have been: St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, the Madonna and Child, St. John the Baptist, and the missing terminal saint. This is apparent not only from the position of St. Bartholomew who turns in to the right and from the gesture of St. John the Baptist who is pointing toward the central panel of the Madonna as he also does in the Arezzo altarpiece, but from the broken inscription which runs along the bottom of the Cecilia and John panels. What remains on the Cecilia panel is "——s Laurentius." The central panel probably had something like "de Senis" and the beginning numbers of the date which is carried on in the John panel "CCXXXII hoc opus." The right-end panel probably had the "fecit" or "pinxit." This is surely a signature by Pietro as the style of the figures have all the necessary earmarks. A new feature for Pietro which appears on these panels is the type of halo. The names of the saints appear picked out in the gold of the haloes, a practice apparently begun by Simone.

To this period after the Carmelite Madonna and in the early thirties I would attribute a group of panels which seem to me to be rather closely related. The first of this group are the two standing saints, St. Agnes and St. Catherine (nos. 578, 579)[2] in the Accademia at Siena. They came from the convent of the Capuchins of St. Egidio (Fig. 33). The broader head types, the bulkier forms, and the greater plasticity to the drapery are indications of this period. Note also how elaborate the tooling is becoming, extending even along the borders of the panels.

A second pair of panels which seem as if they might even be parts of the

[1] Nos. 79, 81, 82. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Olcott, in Heywood and Olcott's *Guide to Siena* (London, 1903), p. 323; also Perkins's note in the 1924 edition; Dami, *La Galleria di Siena*, p. 17; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 30; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 54; Jacobsen, *Die Sienesischen Meister des Trecento in der Gemäldegalerie zu Siena* (Strassburg, 1907) p. 34; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (1912), vol. XXXII pp. 449 ff.; Idem, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 66; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 361; Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della Provincia di Siena*, pp. 377–378; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 29; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, p. 69; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

same altarpiece are St. Peter and St. John the Baptist in the Vatican gallery [1] (Figs. 34, 35). The St. John is very badly repainted, but the St. Peter and the angels in the spandrels of his panel bear strong evidences of Pietro's style. Van Marle suggested an early date for these two saints and related them to the Cortona Madonna. But against this earlier dating are the heavier types of the saints, the elaborately punched tooling of haloes and borders, and the iconography of the angels. The latter discloses an angel type with a hair-buckle over the forehead under which the bangs emerge as in the Carmelite altarpiece. My reason for relating these Vatican panels with the Siena ones, apart from the similarity of the tooling, lies also in the fact that the angels of both sets have palms as attributes, which is not a very usual occurrence.

Two other panels of this period are: the St. Catherine in the Metropolitan Museum in New York [2] and formerly in the Reber Collection at Barmen (Fig. 36); and a female saint with a cross and a crown of flowers formerly in the possession of Signore Grassi at Florence and now in the collection of F. M. Perkins [3] (Fig. 37). Both have suffered much at the hands of restorers.

Closer to the three panels in the Siena gallery dated 1332 is probably the three-quarter-length figure of St. Lucy in the church of Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate in Florence [4] (Fig. 38). It has been entirely repainted. Giglioli published a document in which it is stated that the figure was refreshed and washed by Jacopo Sellaio in 1485. No doubt as a result of this early repainting the panel for a long time carried an attribution to Pesello. Suida, however, made the attribution to Pietro which is certainly correct. The figure has all the quality of Pietro just at this period, even under the repaint. This is apparent in the plastic drapery, the headdress with its prominent coronet like the St. Cecilia in the Siena 1332 group, and also the inscribed halo which bears the saint's name.

A characteristic feature which Pietro uses on his female figures of this period is a soft and sometimes transparent veil which covers the hair and is twisted and looped about the neck. It appears on the Carmelite Madonna, on the St. Cecilia at Siena, on the St. Catherine at Siena, on the St. Catherine at New York, and also on the repainted St. Lucy. In the Carmelite Madonna there is in addition a sort of fringed shawl which falls over the shoulders, and which is repeated in the Siena St. Cecilia and in the Florentine St. Lucy, though in the latter the fringes were not indicated in the repaint.

[1] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326.

[2] Bryson Burroughs, in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City*, vol. IX, no. 4, p. 99; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 456.

[3] Unpublished so far as I know.

[4] Suida, *Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1905), p. 1, note 5; Perkins, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1906), p. 15; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9*6; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 678; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Giglioli, Rivista d'Arte (1906), p. 184 ff.

29. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Thomas and James. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

30. Siena. Accademia. St. Bartholomew.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

31. Siena. Accademia. St. Cecilia.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

32. Siena. Accademia. St. John the Baptist.
Pietro Lorenzetti, 1332

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

33. Siena. Accademia. Sts. Agnes and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

Another small bit of painting of this period is a bust figure of the prophet Daniel in the possession of P. M. Gentner at Florence. The prophet holds a scroll with the inscription, "Beatus qui me . . . " and the date A.D. MCCCXXXIIIII.[1] The idea suggests itself that we have here a pinnacle from the altarpiece which Pietro painted for the Duomo at Siena with stories from the life of St. Savinus.

A group of three Madonnas range themselves about the period of the Uffizi Madonna of 1340. The first is at Castiglione d'Orcia [2] and is in rather bad condition (Fig. 39). But its style is that of Pietro's late period.

The second is in the collection of F. M. Perkins at Lastra a Signa[3] (Fig. 40). The panel is unfortunately very much repainted in spots. The whole background is done over and the haloes of the Madonna and Child have been covered with a gaudy decoration which hides the finely tooled original haloes, except in places where the repaint has been scratched off. The Madonna's mantle has also been badly reworked. Traces of the original gold-shot border such as Pietro used on the Uffizi Madonna are still visible. But the repainter has spoiled the silhouette of the Madonna's head and neck by dropping the line of the mantle, which falls from the head to her right shoulder, at an uneven slant and has consequently thickened the neck and ruined the shoulder. The original silhouette must have been like the Uffizi and Castiglione Madonnas' where the form of both head and shoulder is accentuated by bringing the line of the mantle tightly around the back of the head and neck. The general iconography of the panel is very close to the Castiglione Madonna. In both, the Madonna looks out of the picture; in both, the mantle sweeps across the Madonna's breast to the child's waist, and in both the position of the Madonna's hands as she supports the child is the same. Even the costume of the child is similar in the two panels in the use of the split sleeve fastened by jewelled buttons. The original form of the panel was also altered from a pointed arch with returned mouldings to its present square form.

The third Madonna of this group is in the Serristori Collection at Florence [4] and is one of Pietro's finest (Fig. 41). In its iconography it is much closer to the Uffizi Madonna than are the other two which we have just discussed. This appears in the more intimate relationship between the Madonna and Child, in the casting of the mantle over the head, shoulder, and arm, and in the articulation of the forearm, wrist, and hand, all of which are only slightly varied from the Uffizi panel. The type of the Child, however, is closer to the Perkins Christ Child.

[1] Unpublished.

[2] Brogi, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Bargagli-Petrucci, *Pienza*, etc. (Bergamo, 1907), p. 119; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 33; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1908, p. 3; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; DeNicola, *Vita d'Arte*, 1912, fig. 27; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 363; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 88. The haloes in this panel are painted over the originally tooled ones.

[3] Unpublished.

[4] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 37; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 370, note 2.

IV

That Pietro Lorenzetti was also a fresco painter is attested in records and in various passages in Vasari. It was indeed the normal thing for any artist of prominence to be employed in the decoration of churches and public buildings. But in spite of all this there is very little that has survived which we can identify with the style of Pietro as we know it. Tradition has it that both Pietro and his brother Ambrogio worked together in the monastic church of San Francesco at Siena. And it is here that we find the bits approaching nearest the style of Pietro. The Crucifixion in the chapel to the left of the sanctuary has been almost unanimously attributed to him [1] (Fig. 42). And I think rightly. For here we find all the characteristics of Pietro in the details of the facial types, the bulky forms, the round wrists, and the splayed and well-articulated fingers, as well as in the dramatic reserve and dignity so well expressed by Pietro elsewhere. The influence of the great Florentine Giotto is nowhere else so apparent and cogent as in this fresco. The solemn dignity of the main theme thrown into higher relief by the fluttering extreme despair of the angels about the cross recalls the Paduan Deposition in its effect and has all the qualities of a piece of orchestration in which the broad theme carried on cellos and basses is relieved but not overbalanced by the fluttering violins or shrieking wood winds. This reserve of emotion coupled with the greater bulk of the figures shows Pietro's advance in style and content over his earlier Crucifixion at Cortona. Tizio,[2] who saw the fresco in a better state of preservation, records that there was an inscription which read: "Protege, Petre Senas, o martir prime Senensis, semper ab offensis, protege, Petre Senas," an appeal evidently to the patron saint of the painter. And the date, according to the same writer, was 1331.

The only other fresco in San Francesco which seems to belong to Pietro is the dim and retouched figure of Christ risen from the tomb which is on the walls of the refectory of the monastery [3] (Fig. 43). The features of the Christ are closely comparable to the St. John the Baptist in the Arezzo altarpiece, to the same saint in the Accademia in Siena, or to the Christ Blessing in the Cortona Crucifixion.

The two frescoes in the chapel next to the Crucifixion which represent St. Louis received by Pope Boniface VIII, and the Decapitation of the Francis-

[1] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 21 ff.; Olcott and Heywood, *Guide to Siena*, p. 300; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Mather, *A History of Italian Painting*, p. 90; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 358; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 684 ff.; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 63. The frescoes were at one time in the Sala del Capitolo.

[2] Tizio, *apud* Della Valle, vol. II, p. 213.

[3] Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 125; ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 99, note 2; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912 (vol. XXXII), p. 454; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

34. Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. Peter. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

35. Rome. Vatican Gallery. St. John the Baptist. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

36. New York. Metropolitan Museum. St. Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIV. OF ARIZONA

can missionaries by the Soldan of Morocco have been attributed to Pietro by Peraté and Berenson. Cavalcaselle believed them the joint work of Pietro and Ambrogio. Most of the other critics consider them the work of Ambrogio.[1] In fact the types of faces are the same as those in the procession below the figure of Peace in the fresco of the Good Government in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, such as the young man in the peace procession who is turning around to speak to the group behind him and the young man in the top row of the St. Louis fresco. The violent feeling expressed in the martyrdom fresco has swayed many to see here the hand of Pietro. But the faces are the same Ambrogian types seen in the St. Louis and Good Government frescoes contorted under the stress of emotion. The little snub-nosed children are the same as the snub-nosed figures below the figure of Justice in Siena. The monks and the soldan and his court have the broad foreheads, the pointed noses and chins, and the high cheek-bones which give the faces the squarish look so characteristic of Ambrogio. There is also a pervading spirit of delicacy and charm even in the horrible scene of the martyrdom of the Franciscans which is again more like Ambrogio's style in its lack of seriousness and earnestness when treating an emotional subject.

For a long time the fresco series attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi has presented a vexing problem[2] (Figs. 44–61). The paintings begin at the top of the vault of the north transept and continue down the side walls on either side. Beginning at the top of the eastern curve of the vault are the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper; in the row below, the Washing of the Feet and the Betrayal; below these, Judas hanging himself and St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. On the other side beginning with the western curve of the vault are the Flagellation and the Road to Calvary, and below these and corresponding to four of the other scenes as to space is the Crucifixion. Below the Crucifixion and to the left is a Madonna and Child, half-length, flanked by St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis. As a sort of predella to this Madonna there are five square panels. The centre

[1] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIb, p. 862; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 136; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 674; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 385.

[2] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, pp. 379, 403, 540; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, pp. 125–131; ed. Hutton, vol. II, pp. 82–86; ed. Douglas, vol. III, pp. 99–104; *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vols. III and VI, for plates; Dobbert, *Sienesische Malerschule*, p. 46; v. Rumohr, in *Cicerone*, p. 517; Rothes, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 20; Idem, *Franz von Assisi*, ed. 1885, pp. 278–279; Schubring, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XXIII, p. 345, note 2; Berenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIb, p. 863; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 14–21; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, fasc. I; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 680–694; Idem, *La Basilica di Assisi*, p. 138; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 351; Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Gielly, *Les Primitifs Siennois*, pp. 70 ff.; Supino, *La Basilica di San Francesco di Assisi* (Bologna, 1924), pp. 266 ff.; Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilica S. Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1926), vol. II, pp. 176–184; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The coats of arms which appear beneath the Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist have been interpreted by Vasari as those of Walter of Athens, by Kleinschmidt as those of Duke Charles of Calabria, and by Supino as those of Giovanni Simone.

panel contains a small Christ Crucified; this is flanked on either side respectively by two panels containing coats of arms and portraits of the donors. The portrait to the right is the only one which has survived but it was undoubtedly balanced by another at the other end. On the north wall of the transept on either side of the archway opening into the north chapel of San Giovanni are the Descent to Hell and the Resurrection at the top, and below them the Deposition and the Entombment. Under the Deposition, square fresco panels contain the busts of St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Afra, and St. Margaret. Over the altar in the north chapel is a fresco in the form of a triptych with the Madonna and Child flanked by St. John the Baptist and St. Francis.

Vasari had originally attributed these frescoes to Puccio Campana with the exception of the Stigmatization of St. Francis, which he gave to Giotto, and the Crucifixion, which he said was by Cavallini. Since Cavalcaselle first noticed their Lorenzettian character all the critics have followed him either in attributing them all or in part to Pietro or to his school.

The series falls rather evidently into two distinct groups. The first comprises the frescoes from the Entry into Jerusalem up to and including the Road to Calvary. And the artist who executed them shows himself as a more immature and a much weaker man than Pietro. His tendency is to exaggerate all the qualities of our painter. First of all his compositions are overcrowded and loaded with descriptive detail such as Pietro never used, and such as is found in most of the later followers of the Lorenzettian tradition. In the Last Supper, for instance, the main theme is almost completely lost in the artist's interest in the genre details of the setting. The rafters of the room, the utensils on the table, the maid scraping the dishes so that the animals in the kitchen may eat, the moon and the stars outside, are all detractions from the main theme which is practically lost. Note how in this scene as also in the Flagellation the perspective is so arranged that one is able to look up at the ceiling and down at the floor with equal ease to ascertain the details thereof. As a second consideration, the emotional quality of all the figures in these frescoes is in most cases uncalled for. In his attempt to portray emotion the artist overdoes it; figures pirouette about or are hunched up to one side or another, hair and beards are unduly agitated, heads are cocked to one side, eyes pop and squint, and brows frown and leer out at the spectator with really comic results. Even in the medallions of the decorative borders between the frescoes the busts of the saints are all given the over-agitated look. Finally, the types exaggerate Pietro's in almost every detail. The eyes are much smaller and rounder, and where the squint is used it is overstressed. The Pietran nose becomes bulbous and the line of the jaw is either too square or else falls too quickly to the chin, making on the one hand too blocky a head

37. Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Female saint. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

38. Florence. Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate. St. Lucy. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

39. Castiglion d'Orcia, S. Stefano. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

and on the other an over-elongated one. And how flat and stringy is the drapery!

The same artist is responsible for the Madonna in the north chapel (Fig. 59). His hand is betrayed in the generally agitated quality of the whole piece and in the types. Compare the St. John the Baptist with several of the apostles in the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 61).

The other group, which includes the scenes on the north wall and also the Stigmatization of St. Francis, the Crucifixion, and the Madonna below it, is similarly homogeneous. But the essential quality is far different from the first group. The composition of the scenes is more concentrated, there is more restraint and less commotion. There is a finesse and a grandeur quite absent from the other man's style. Even the color effects are softer. In the Deposition, in the Entombment, and in the Madonna the effect is quite that of Pietro. And yet there is so much to disturb one. Chiefly do I refer to the bad articulation of hands and feet, the thin fingers which are different from Pietro's, hands that seem unable to grasp the objects they are holding. The noses are thinner with very little width to the nostrils. And yet again compare the foreshortened head of one of the sleeping soldiers in the Resurrection with the foreshortened head of the angel to the right of the Crucified in San Francesco at Siena, or the bulky profile of the shoulder of St. John the Evangelist in the Madonna group with that of the St. Matthew in the Arezzo altarpiece. And the little Crucifixion below the Madonna at Assisi has all the beauty and quality of the one at Siena.

This discrepancy, arising on the one hand from qualities which are so definitely Pietro's and on the other hand from details of execution which would deny his work, might be explained by the supposition that the greater part of the execution was done by a capable but weaker assistant. A more careful examination of the wall surface and the paint, however, shows that there has been a good deal of repairing and retouching chiefly of the flesh parts of the frescoes. The wall surface on which are the Crucifixion and the Madonna shows these ravages very plainly. In the latter some portions, such as the lower left-hand corner, were so badly gone that the restorer merely covered them up with dark paint, for instance, the left panel of the predella portion. And in retouching the faces, for example, the restorer has so straightened out the lines of the eyes and mouths and smoothed out the modelling of such details as the lips (which in Pietro give the pursed effect) that the whole impression is a softer and weaker one than is found in Pietro's original works. That this retouching has been going on continually is shown by a comparison of two photographs of the donor figure beneath St. John (Fig. 60), one of which was taken more recently than the other.

The large Crucifixion scene (Figs. 50, 51) is interesting because of the ma-

terial for comparison which exists in the Crucifixions at Cortona (Fig. 26) and San Francesco at Siena (Fig. 37). It takes a sort of midway position between the two, and is perhaps closer to the former in style, in the treatment of bulk, and in the plasticity of the drapery. In these points the Siena Crucifixion is the most advanced. In the cartello over the cross the same spacing of the letters is observed at Assisi as at Cortona. And for types, one might compare the St. John in the right-hand medallion of the Cortona Crucifix with the angel at the right of the Assisi cartello and the St. John at Siena.

The date of the series has been placed by Supino and Kleinschmidt at the end of the twenties or at the beginning of the thirties. In the light of the close comparison of the style with the Cortona Crucifix and also of the extreme approximation of the Madonna below this fresco to the Montichiello Madonna, which must date before 1329 according to all the evidences of style and iconography, I should date the series between 1325 and 1329.[1]

V

Although it is not my intention to discuss the many products of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti in this article, there are several groups of works which have often been attributed to Pietro himself. About these I should like to make a few observations.

In the first volume of Art Studies[2] five years ago I published an article in which I contended that a certain group of pictures usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti were really the work of a younger pupil. I submitted a good deal of evidence to support my contention, which, I believe, is now more or less generally accepted. Mr. van Marle in his second volume of the *Italian Schools of Painting* and in a note in the fifth volume still attributes them to Pietro,[3] and as a matter of fact to a period prior to 1320. In this he is merely following the older tradition of attributions to Pietro, a tradition which can no longer hold in the light of the actual evidence. I shall consequently restate some of the evidence which led me to my original contention and add a few more cogent observations as well.

The chief members of the group under discussion are: the Madonna in the church of S. Pietro Ovile in Siena (after whom I called the artist the master of the Ovile Madonna); in the Belle Arte at Siena Madonna (no. 80), Madonna

[1] Note also that the costumes of the St. Catherine and the St. Margaret in Figs. 56, 57 have the same type of beaded border which is found on the Montichiello Madonna, and on the St. Margaret in the Horne Collection in Florence.

[2] E. T. DeWald, in *Art Studies*, vol. I, pp. 45 ff. And see the attributions in Perkins's notes for the Siena panels in the revised edition of Heywood and Olcott's *Guide to Siena* (1924). Also Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; and Beencken in *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1928–29, Heft 4, pp. 73 ff.

[3] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 330 ff., and vol. V, p. 456.

40. Lastra a Signa. Perkins Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of Mr. F. Mason Perkins and the Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

41. Florence. Serristori Collection. Madonna and Child. Pietro Lorenzetti
(Courtesy of Mr. Richard Offner)

(no. 76), the Assumption of the Virgin (no. 61), and a St. Gregory (no. 59); the Madonna in the Bordonaro-Chiaramonte Collection at Palermo; the Madonna at Grosseto; the Madonna in the Maitland Griggs Collection at New York (formerly at Durlacher's); and the Nativity in the Fogg Museum[1] (Figs. 65–73).

That Mr. van Marle's early dating of the group under discussion is impossible, is obvious for several reasons. First of all, the thrones are later types and not early ones. The throne of the Siena Madonna (no. 76,) though of a lower back, is related closely to the throne of Pietro's Madonna in the Uffizi, and one could possibly concede a date in the thirties. The high-backed brocaded throne, however, of the Siena Madonna (no. 80), the Grosseto Madonna, and the Ovile Madonna, where the angels are holding up the drapery, belongs to the traditions of the second half of the Trecento. The type of throne of the Siena Madonna (no. 80) in particular with the angels in attitudes of folded arms or joined hands derives from the Uffizi Madonna, which has a transitional position between the earlier architectural and Cosmatesque thrones and the later high-backed and brocaded Gothic ones. The type of Siena (no. 80) is the kind to be found frequently in artists like the Vanni, Luca di and Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Tomè, with whom it is the usual thing, that is, artists dating in the fifties and sixties (Figs. 62–64). To be sure, the idea is derived from a type found early in Segna di Buonaventura but there the Cosmatesque thrones and other early elements are in obvious contrast to the later ones which give witness to the triumph of Gothic elegance in Italian painting of the mid-century. The throne type with the scalloped drapery back of the Maitland Griggs Madonna and that of Siena (no. 80) which is held up by the angels, is also to be found in the works of the Daddesque artists and of the Orcagnas.[2]

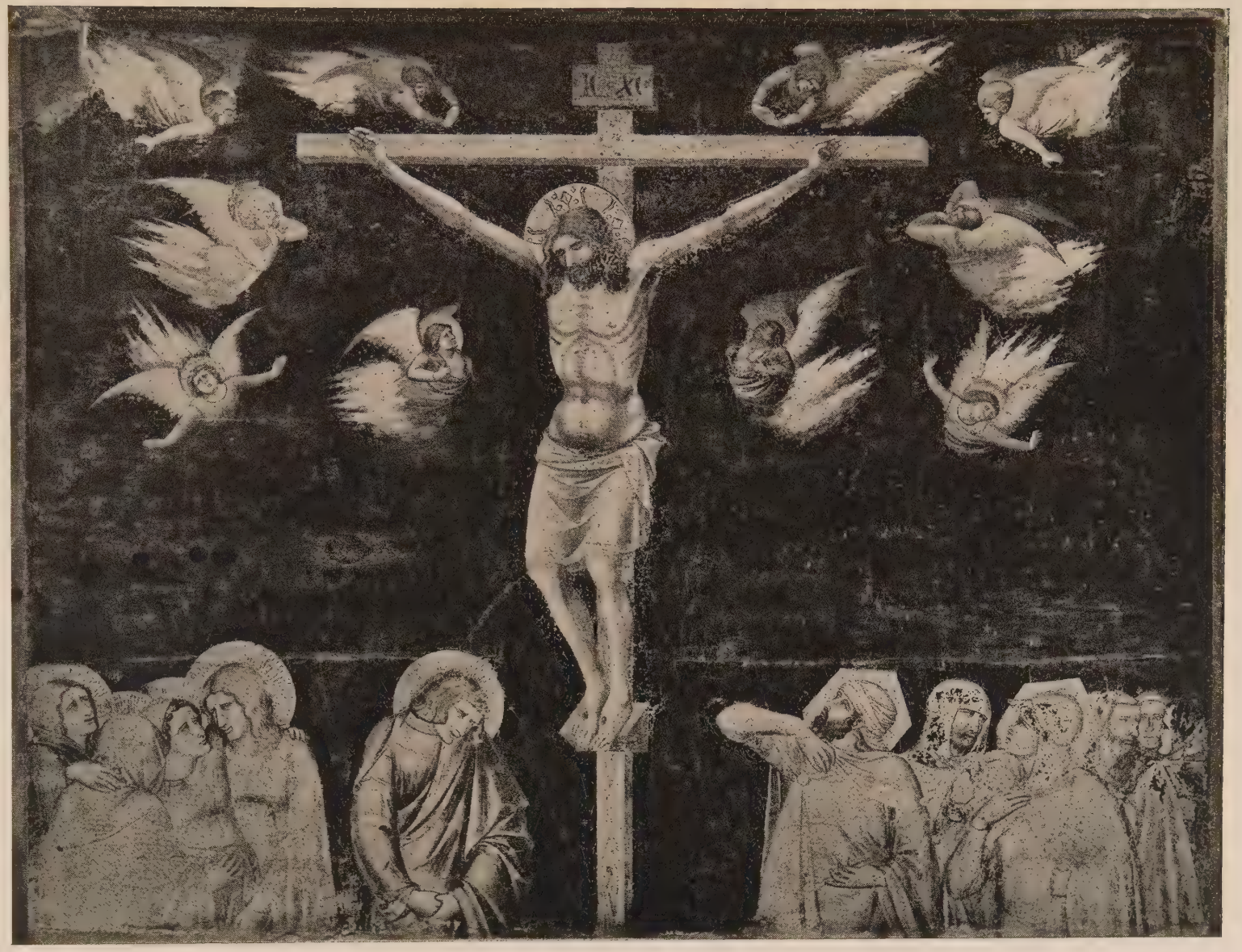
A second feature that goes with the greater ornateness of the altarpieces of the second half of the Trecento is the use of decorated cusps to divide the main arch of the frame or moulding under which the Madonna is seated. In the Siena Madonna (no. 80), these are even further subdivided. This is an innovation of Simone Martini's which, however, does not become general until the middle of the century. Compare again the works of the Vanni, Luca di Tomè and Paolo di Giovanni Fei and their milieu (Figs. 62–64). It is not until their time that these cusps are used to enclose the head or heads of the angels grouped about the Madonna's throne in the manner which obtains in our group of Madonnas.

[1] There are many other panels to be added to this group, which I believe Dr. Richard Offner is to publish at some future date. In my article in *Art Studies*, I, I pointed out similarities to the Ovile Master in the Montepulciano Coronation of the Virgin. Through an error the plate bears the name of the Ovile Master. I do not believe it to be a work of that master himself.

[2] See illustrations in van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Figs. 232, 262, 295, 326.

Evidence, then, points to an artist who was active between the thirties and the seventies of the Trecento and not to one who produced all these Madonnas before 1320. And that this artist was not Pietro Lorenzetti is apparent by a comparison of the types of the Madonna, the Christ Child, angels, and prophets found in both groups of work. These comparisons, made in the original article, may be in part repeated here. I am reproducing a group of angels' heads of the Ovile master (Fig. 70, 71) so as to make more clear the difference between the very round types of that artist, particularly round in the back part of the head, in contrast to those of Pietro. We might also set alongside each other some of the Madonna types of each man and note how the differences emerge. How much less emphatic is the Ovile artist, however he approximates certain details of Pietro in nose, mouth, and chin. But the general shape of the head is again rounder. Pietro's contrapostal look is nowhere found in any of the angels, prophets, or Madonnas. And the Madonnas all have a homogeneous type of headdress which is not found in any period of Pietro's work, consisting of an opaque, stiffly starched and finely pleated veil which protrudes slightly from underneath the covering mantle. The parted "taffy" hair which shows beneath the veil is also the same in all the Madonnas except in the Assumption, where none is in evidence. The whole effect of these Madonnas with their calligraphic drapery, their brocaded dresses and backdrops, the many cusped arches, and the choirs of small heads of saints and angels in the spandrils is wonderfully decorative, with the emphasis distinctly on decoration rather than on content. In Pietro's more elaborate moments, as we have noted in the Uffizi Madonna, he produced marvellously tooled haloes and accessory brocades but these are merely accompaniments to his greater emphasis on form and content and tend to throw them into greater relief.

A close comparison can be made between the Assumption on Pietro's Arezzo altarpiece and the one by the other master in the Siena Academy (Figs. 8, 68, and 69). The iconography of the Siena piece is obviously copied from Pietro's and his facial types approximated. But note how much fatter the head, how much beadier the eyes, how much deader and duller is the whole expression of the face than in Pietro's work. And note, again, the relation of the upper part of the body to the lower part in each picture. Pietro establishes a fine series of pyramidally diminishing masses from the bottom to the top; the Ovile Master produces a sack of concrete. A similar contrast in expression can be seen by setting the St. Gregory (no. 59 in the Siena Academy) alongside any of the saints in the Arezzo altarpiece. All which reduces to the difference between a live, active, dramatic personality and one that is softer, gentler, and more flaccid.



42. Siena. San Francesco. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

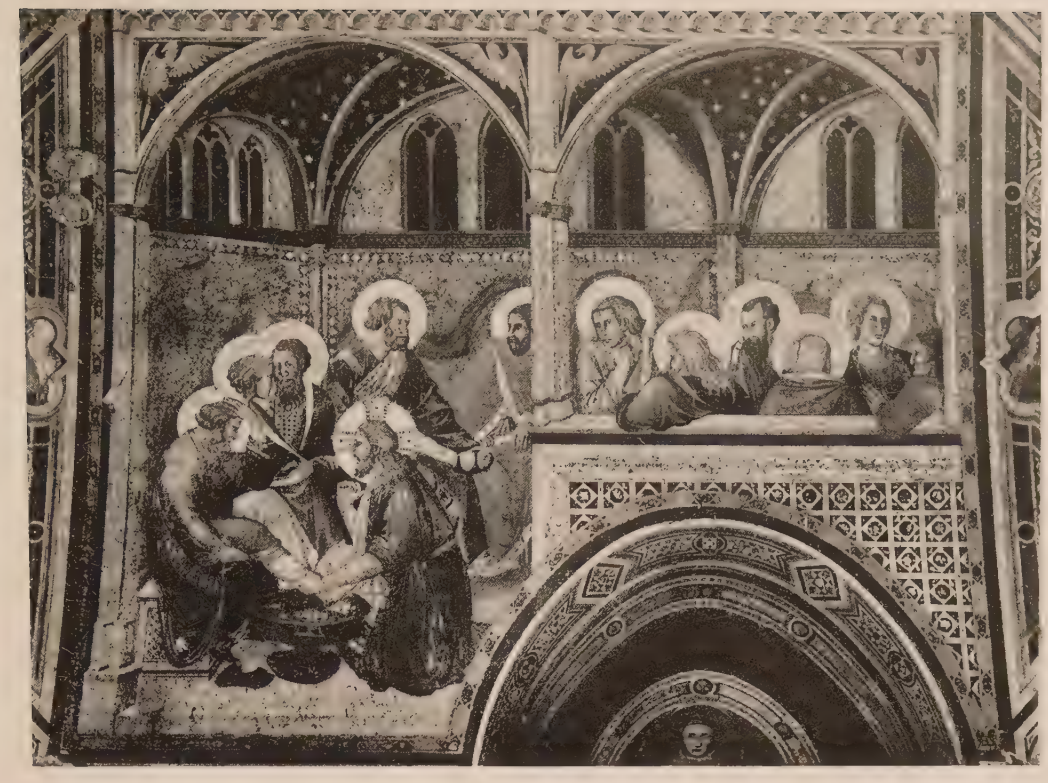
43. Siena. San Francesco, refectory. Christ Risen. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

44. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entry into Jerusalem.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

45. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Last Supper.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA



46. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Washing of the Apostles' Feet. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

47. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Betrayal. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

Another homogeneous group of pictures is composed of the enthroned Madonna in the Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan [1] (Fig. 74), the triptych in the Dijon Museum [2] (Figs. 77–80), the Münster [3] Madonna (Fig. 85), the standing Madonna with donor in Mr. Berenson's collection, [4] and the Loeser Madonna in Florence [5] (Figs. 81, 82). Mr. van Marle places most of these paintings also in the period of Pietro's activity before 1320. The youthful quality of this work, full of sweetness and charm and totally lacking in force or mature content or character probably accounts for this attribution. But again they cannot be of that date. On the one hand, for practically the same reason which I put forward with regard to the Ovile group, the thrones of the Madonnas and the arrangement of the angel heads behind them are types which belong to the middle and second half of the Trecento. In the second place, the iconography of the Madonna and the Child of the Milan and Dijon Madonnas is identical with that of the Uffizi Madonna by Pietro, except that the left hand of the Babe rests on its thigh as it does in the Madonna at Castiglione d'Orcia. Note that the Madonna's mantle is gathered together at the breast by a brooch, and that one of the hems in its downward sweep falls almost directly to the ground, whereas the other swings around the Christ Child across the Madonna's lap and then runs tangent to the other hem to the ground. This bit of iconography as well as the position of the Madonna's hands and of the Child is identical in the three paintings and is quite different from the arrangements in Pietro's earlier Madonnas. Consequently we have to do here with two small echoes of the monumental Uffizi Madonna by a youthful or weaker imitator of Pietro. Or are we to suppose that Pietro used this type before 1320 and abandoned it for twenty years only to revive it line for line in the Uffizi Madonna? Against this is of course the evidence of the thrones and angels which I have already mentioned, and also the very sharp form of the pinnacles used in the Berenson and Milan Madonnas. The form of the Milan pinnacle with its leaf decoration is identical with the triptych attributed to Paolo di Giovanni Fei in Siena (Figs. 75, 76); even the disposition of the Madonna group below is not very different and shows to what part of the Trecento the four panels under discussion must be assigned. The haloes of the Berenson and Milan Madonnas also show the coarse punch work visible in the Fei triptych. Note also the wide spacing of the fingers on the hands of this master.

[1] Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. XI, p. 9; Rothes, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., p. 39; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 333; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[2] E. F. Mercier, *L'Art et les Artistes*, Nov., 1922; van Marle, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, 1923, p. 62; Idem, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. II, p. 330.

[3] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[4] Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Idem, *Burl. Mag.* (1904), p. 582; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337.

[5] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Gielly, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912, p. 454; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., *loc. cit.*; van Marle, *loc. cit.*

The same soft personality seems to me to be responsible for the small panels in the Vatican [1] and National Galleries [2] (Figs. 83, 84), the one depicting Christ before Pilate, and the other three saints brought before a Roman tribunal. A comparison of the faces in the latter with some of the angels in the Milan panel shows striking resemblances. The only remaining possibility is of course that these paintings are the latest of Pietro's career. But one would have to assume a paralysis of his faculties to consider these feeble creations as products of the same personality who produced the Nativity at Siena. Nor is the argument that in smaller panels the power of the artist is toned down at all cogent here, as the small scenes in the Arezzo altarpiece show.

An attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti which it is about time to abandon is that of the Sta. Umiltà altarpiece of which the major portion is in the Uffizi (Fig. 87). The large full-length figure of the saint with a kneeling abbess as donor is the central panel of the altarpiece and is surrounded by smaller panels with representations of miracles performed by her. There were originally thirteen of these; two of them are now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Figs. 88, 89). Below the panel with the figure of the saint runs an inscription which is now most generally read as 1341. But because of the peculiar form of the "L" it was frequently interpreted as 1316.[3] The advanced quality of the disposition of the architecture and of the figures in relation to the architecture indicates a compositional tradition more recent than 1316. Other details as well are indicative of the later date. The hats worn by the young men in several of the panels are of the same style as those found in a polyptych in the church at Ottana, datable between 1338 and 1344, and also in the Sant'Agostino altarpiece, which is generally dated about 1340.

But why the attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti? It is true that the face of the saint has certain Lorenzettian features, though these are not very pronounced. But even these are hard to find in the small figures in the side panels. As for

[1] No. 9. Thode, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* vol. XI, p. 11, note; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, pp. 106, 108, note; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Siren, *L'Arte,* vol. IX, pp. 326–328; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 694; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 341; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2] No. 1113, and formerly in the Fairfax Murray Collection. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 97; Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery* (London, 1925), p. 32; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 696, note 1; van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[3] Suida, *Florentinische Meister,* p. 1, note 5; Thode, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.; Lafenestre et Richtenberg, *La Peinture en Europe — Florence* (Paris), p. 199; Fairfax Murray in Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 541; Cruttwell, *The Florentine Galleries,* p. 253; Schubring, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* vol. XXIII, p. 395; Idem, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst,* vol. XIV, p. 375; Idem, *Berlin, Königliche Museen,* vol. I, p. 7; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36; DeNicola, *Rassegna d'Arte,* 1919, p. 95; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 368; Gielly, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 64; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 668–672.

The old catalogue gave Buffalmacco as the painter. Fairfax Murray first attributed it to Pietro, which attribution has been generally accepted. Schubring and Venturi have ranged themselves against this attribution. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 92; ed. Hutton, vol. II, p. 164. For information concerning the saint see the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandist fathers under May 5, p. 212, and Brocchi, *Vite di Beati Fiorentini* (Florence, 1742), vol. I, p. 293.

48. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Flagellation.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

49. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Road to Calvary.
Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

50. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti and Follower

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

51. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail of Crucifixion. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

the rest, the canon of the figures with small round heads and long bodies, the thin hands, the metallic drapery, and the peculiar color scheme with emphasis on browns and pinks are something quite apart from Pietro. This is even more evident in the tradition of the architectural compositions in the small panels. The approach to this problem is not at all that which we found in the predella pieces of the Carmine, much less that of Pietro's Nativity of the Virgin at Siena which dates a year after this altarpiece, but reflects the Florentine tradition which is present in the panels by the St. Cecilia master at Montici or San Miniato, or those in Bernardo Daddi's polyptych in the Uffizi.

A panel that has been persistently attributed to Pietro is the so-called Allegory of the Cross in the Siena Gallery (no. 92) formerly in the Convent of Monna Agnese [1] (Fig. 90). A great deal of the detail of the painting has disappeared as the result of time. But through the courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, I am able to reproduce here details which have not been available so far and which give a clear indication of the style of the work (Figs. 91–93).

There are many evidences which preclude a date within the lifetime of Pietro Lorenzetti. The central subject is Christ Crucified, placed between the stories of the Creation and Fall of Man to the left of the panel and the abbreviated Last Judgment to the right. The three representations are given significance by the figure of a hermit who is holding a scroll and pointing out a heap of corpses to a group of people who approach from the right. It is a theme frequent in the latter half of the Trecento wherein the abstinence from worldly life is urged upon the public, as for example in the Campo Santo frescoes at Pisa. The popularity of this theme was due largely to the effects of the plague which ravaged Italy in 1348, to which Pietro Lorenzetti himself is believed to have fallen victim. The handling of the landscape, too, is quite different from that of the Lorenzettian landscapes we know. The best of these is that by Ambrogio in the Good Government fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena. In this fresco the landscape is treated topographically and descriptively and is shown as seen from a height at an angle of about 45 degrees. In the panel, on the other hand, there is an attempt to introduce perspective and to relate the landscape to a horizon line. Note most particularly the perspective of the castle shown on the hill to the right of the centre of the panel. It is the type of landscape frequent in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento wherein the old medieval treatment was being fused with the

[1] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Rothes, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff., and plate XL; Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28; Idem, *Rassegna d'Arte Senese*, vol. IV, p. 55; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 678–680; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 360; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; Idem, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (vol. XXXII), 1912, p. 454; Peraté, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IIB, p. 876; Idem, in *Mélanges Paul Fabre*, pp. 436 ff.; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

new scientific style — the sort of thing one finds in the early Masolinos. The style and graceful pose of the Adam and Eve in the Expulsion episode at the upper left side of the panel betrays the same almost Quattrocento feeling, surely far removed from Pietro Lorenzetti. Some of the facial types, it is true, show Lorenzettian traditions, but the individual details are those of a late follower thereof.

The two landscape panels in the Siena gallery (nos. 70 and 71,[1] Figs. 94, 95), have been attributed both to Pietro and to Ambrogio, but there is nothing to make either of these attributions certain. They are handled after the panoramic and descriptive method instituted by Ambrogio, but they might just as well be by some artist working in this tradition. The label in the Siena catalogue, "maniera di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," seems to me as far as one can safely go.[2]

Finally we shall consider a set of frescoes in the church of the Servi at Siena[3] which has been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. The scenes represented are: the Dance of Salome and the Decapitation of St. John the Baptist; the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist; and the Slaughter of the Innocents.

In the Dance of Salome, the feast of Herod takes place under a loggia covered by a ribbed vault carrying a balcony (Fig. 96). Herod, a companion, and Herod's wife are seated at the table before which Salome is dancing to the accompaniment of music supplied by a youth at the left. At the right of the table the executioner advances with the head of the saint on a platter. To the extreme right of the composition is the prison where the execution is being consummated, and on the balcony the young princess is bringing the head to

[1] Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Perkins, *Vita*, etc., pp. 29–30; Olcott, *op. cit.*, p. 323; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 360.

[2] Venturi, in the fifth volume of his *Storia dell 'Arte Italiana*, p. 696, note 1, and in his *La Galleria Sterbini* (Roma, 1906); Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note, and van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326, attribute to Pietro a series of half-length saints. These seem, however, to be the work of some follower of Segna rather than of Pietro.

I have been able neither to see nor to get photographs of the following pictures attributed to Pietro: (*a*) a small Madonna and Child and angels in the collection of F. Mason Perkins at Lastra a Signa (Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 37); (*b*) an allegorical figure from San Francesco, Siena, in the former Corvisieri Collection at Rome; (*c*) a bishop blessing, the same Collection; (*d*) two busts of prophets in the former Stroganoff Collection, Rome (Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189); in (*e*) a Madonna and Child with donor in the Ulrich Jaeger collection, Genoa (Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 188), unless this is the Madonna in Mr. Berenson's own collection at present; (*f*) the Madonna in the Lanz Collection at Amsterdam, which Mr. van Marle attributes in his second volume, p. 370, note 2.

The Madonna and Child in the church of Sta. Lucia del Gonfalone in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure at Rome, which is mentioned in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Murray, vol. II, p. 133, in the *Cicerone*, p. 629, and in Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 189, is certainly a modern copy, as Venturi in his fifth volume of the *Storia dell'Arte*, p. 696, note, and Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 38, have pointed out. Cavalcaselle may have seen the original, for the *custode* told me that it replaces an old picture which was there at one time.

[3] *Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft*, vol. VI, Pls. XII–XIV; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ed. Douglas, vol. III, p. 107, note 9*8; Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Berenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190; Olcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–284; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Peraté, *op. cit.*, vol. IIB, p. 863; Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, 695–696; van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 337; Gielly, *op. cit.*, p. 67, note 1; Idem, *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1912, p. 454; Cecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

52. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Deposition. Pietro Lorenzetti

53. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Entombment. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

54. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Descent to Hell. Pietro Lorenzetti

55. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. The Resurrection. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

56. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Nicholas and Catherine. Pietro Lorenzetti

57. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Sts. Afra and Margaret. Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

her mother. The composition of the scene is poor and confused, one episode merging into another without any sense of division. Comparing it with Giotto's representation of the scene in Sta. Croce in Florence one finds only one point of contact — the fiddler. Otherwise the differences are very great. Giotto has arranged the figures and the architecture with much greater expertness and feeling for the space which they occupy. The artist here has attempted a composition of the asymmetrical kind used by Pietro Lorenzetti, but with no success. In the arrangement of his figures he has reversed Giotto's order both as to the figures at the table and as to the executioner who is bringing in the head of St. John, and has placed the last scene of the tragedy on the balcony where it is scarcely discernible. The treatment of the figures is very poor. Besides being expressionless, many are out of scale with the rest so as to emphasize the episodes which the artist has so hopelessly confused in his composition. Devoid of weight, they appear to be dangling in the air. The difference between this and any of Pietro's predella compositions or even the Siena Nativity is striking. The drawing, too, is much more careless than is usual in a Pietro. A good contrast is afforded by comparing the figures bringing in the presents in the Siena panel with the executioner and the wine-pourer in this fresco. How real and well drawn each detail in the one case, and how insipid and amateurish in the other!

In the Assumption of St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 97), we can again make a comparison with Giotto, who portrayed this episode in Sta. Croce. At the right, the funeral procession is about to enter the church with monks carrying tapers and the coffin, while in the rest of the picture the Assumption of the saint is shown. The saint rises toward heaven to be received by Christ and His apostles to the amazement of his disciples, who are gazing either heavenward or down into the empty tomb. The background shows the vaulted aisles of the church. Again the major episodes are composed with no special architectural settings to emphasize the one or the other, as Giotto has done or as Pietro would have done; the foremost monk breaks abruptly into the right group of the Assumption scene. Giotto used only the Assumption episode and arranged it symmetrically as was his custom at that time, and his St. John rises from the tomb in the centre of the composition with the disciples arranged in balanced groups on either side under the colonnaded aisles, thus accentuating the central theme. Opposed to this the Servi artist has adopted the Lorenzettian asymmetrical composition of the square and the rectangle but has failed to adjust the figures to it. He could not resist putting the ascending saint in the centre of his composition and thus confusing the meaning of the groups and their relations to each other and to the architecture. In addition, he has overdone Pietro's realisms and characteristics, with a ludicrous result. The eyes show too much white, the heads are spasmodically

tilted, and the drapery is exaggerated in the movement of its lines. The hands are especially weak and flat. Everything indicates a weak follower of Pietro.

The Slaughter of the Innocents (Fig. 98) comes closer to Pietro than the other two. It is a subject that was done by all of the great predecessors of Pietro: the Pisani, Duccio, and Giotto. The scene here represents an open piazza with a lofty balcony to the left from which Herod commands the massacre which is taking place below in the square. It is filled with soldiers, mothers and babes, giving a sense of great confusion and horror. The heap of dead children, the squatting mothers tearing their hair and wailing, and the ruthless soldiers, are borrowed from the representations by the Pisani. The Herod motif is taken from Giotto, for in the scenes by the Pisani and Duccio the Byzantine tradition, whereby Herod and his counsellors are seated or enthroned under a portico, is used. The mounted troopers in the background are also Giottesque, used for the first time, I believe, in the lower church at Assisi.

The attempt at dramatic action in this fresco is worthy of Pietro himself, but the details again betray the follower. The faces are too broad and compressed, the noses and lips exaggerated, and the hands very weakly done, conveying no effect of grasping or holding. The soldier at the extreme right and some of the babes in the foreground are, however, very realistically done. But in the treatment of the architecture the differences from Pietro are as glaring as in the other two frescoes. Pietro uses his architecture among other things to give a certain effect of space. He relates it carefully to the spectator who is made to feel to a degree an attempt at unity with the space outside the fresco. Here the buildings and porticoes are shoved forward like cardboard stage scenery without any particular relatedness. It is a purely descriptive treatment. Note particularly the door at the left which begins parallel to the picture plane at the top and ends at right angles to it so as to accommodate the steps coming out of it.

It cannot be pointed out too frequently how realistic representations, done so well by Pietro himself, were exaggerated in one detail or another by his followers. Despite his realisms, Pietro, as far as one can judge from his authenticated works, always kept within bounds. But in the hands of less capable followers these realisms lost their restraint. Compare only the stern saints of the Arezzo altarpiece with the wild, demented beings in the Assumption of St. John in the Servi.[1]

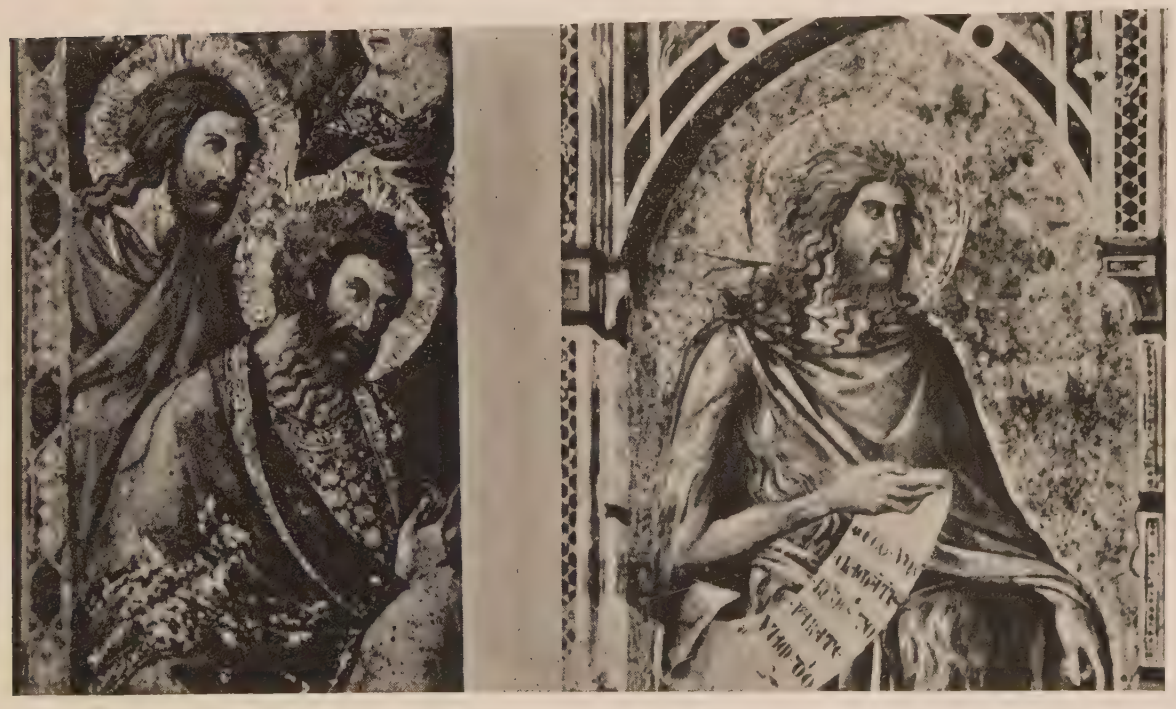
[1] Through the kindness of Mr. Felix Warburg I am reproducing in Figs. 99–100 his panels of the Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine. The panels are evidently of Lorenzettian derivation but they seem to lean a bit in the direction of the style of Taddeo di Bartoli. The heads are all softer and broader than Pietro's style. Much of this may of course be due to the clever retouching to which the panels have been subjected.

58. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Stigmatisation of St. Francis. Pietro Lorenzetti

59. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Madonna with St. Francis and St. John the Baptist. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

60. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Detail from Madonna fresco (see fig. 25) before and after repainting



61. Assisi. San Francesco. Lower church. Comparative details from the Entry into Jerusalem (left) and the Madonna fresco in the north transept chapel (right)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

62. New York. Collection of Mrs. Goodhart

63. Siena. Accademia. Luca di Tomè

64. Boston Museum. Niccolo di Buonaccorso

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

VI

The picture of Pietro Lorenzetti's artistic personality which comes to us from his surviving works is a very clear one and indicates how definite his position is in the development of Trecento Italian painting. The generation which preceded him had broken away from the sterile traditions of the Byzantine style, and in opening the floodgates to the Gothic style had indicated in very broad lines what was to happen later. In men like Giovanni Pisano, Duccio, and Giotto, dramatic movement, decorative color, and masses emotionalized by line, and simple bulk and expressive gesture had been emphasized respectively. The second generation followed after with more detailed insistence on these pioneer accomplishments. Simone Martini showed how effective the superficial courtly contemporary French style could be made. But Pietro Lorenzetti chose another tack. He set aside all temptations toward prettification, in fact he chose homely types, and developed in them more simple and intimately human qualities. He struck the note of seriousness and poise, reinforcing it by the bulk of his figures and by their expressions. In this he approached Giotto, but worked for a more intimate result. It was this emphasis on greater intimacy of expression which led the later Sienese artists to the exaggerations which are seen in frescoes like those of the Campo Santo at Pisa.

The same more detailed interest appears in his handling of space. I have already pointed out how he developed Duccio's architectural settings into spatial units, and how his interest in this problem led him and his brother Ambrogio to the closest approximation of a perspective rendering of a background to be found in the Trecento. But it is due to this emphasis on the background for itself that the functional backgrounds of his predecessors were to develop into the descriptive and panoramic ones of the later Trecento.

Pietro stands, then, on the borderline between the earlier pioneer generation and the later decadent one and acts as a sort of balance wheel for Sienese art. For he shows how effectively decorative color and line, so dear to Sienese taste, can be wedded to expressive bulk, and how reality of form can be unified with reality of background. But after his generation came the deluge of superficial imitation wherein this achievement was momentarily swept away.

NOTE. At the request of F. Mason Perkins, I am publishing the following list of paintings which he had attributed in earlier publications to Pietro Lorenzetti, and which he no longer considers as works of the master. I received this list the moment this article was going to press.

Boston, Gardner Collection. The Madonna and saints,
Grosseto, Duomo. Madonna and Child.
Philadelphia, Johnson Collection. The panels with saints.
Rome, Vatican Gallery. No. 43. The Madonna and saints, with the Annunciation.

Siena, Accademia. No. 59. St. Gregory.
No. 61. The Assumption of the Virgin.
No. 75. An Apostle.
No. 80. The Madonna and Child and angels.
No. 92. The Allegory of the Cross.
Siena, San Pietro Ovile. Madonna and Child.
Siena, Sta. Maria dei Servi. The Massacre of the Innocents (fresco).

Mr. Perkins also rejects the attribution of the panels with the half-length saints in the Sterbini Collection at Rome which have been attributed to Pietro by Venturi and van Marle.

LIST OF WORKS BY PIETRO LORENZETTI, ACCORDING TO LOCALITY

Altenburg. Lindenau Museum
No. 47. Madonna and Child.
No. 48. Half-figure of the dead Christ. Signed.

Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve.
On the high altar, polyptych of Madonna and Child and saints. Signed and dated 1320.

Assisi. Church of St. Francis (Lower Church) north transept.
Madonna and Child with St. Francis and St. John the Evangelist.
The Crucifixion.
The Deposition.
The Entombment.
The Descent into Hell.
The Resurrection.
St. Francis receiving the Stigmata.

Castiglione d'Orcia. San Stefano.
Madonna and Child.

Cortona. Duomo.
Madonna and Child and angels.
San Marco.
Crucifix with the Virgin, St. John, and Christ Blessing.

Florence. Uffizi.
Madonna and Child and angels. Signed and dated 1340.
Collection of Mr. Herbert Horne.
Three saints.
Collection of Count Serristori.
Madonna and Child.
Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate.
Three-quarters figure of St. Lucy.
Collection of Mr. P. M. Gentner.
Pinnacle with bust of Daniel. Dated 1335.

Lastra a Signa. Collection of Mr. F. M. Perkins.
Madonna and Child.
Half-figure of a female saint.

65. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
S. Pietro, Ovile, Siena

66. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
No. 76. Belle Arti, Siena

67. Ovile Master. Enthroned Madonna.
No. 80. Belle Arti, Siena

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

68. Ovile Master. Assumption of the Virgin. Belle Arti. Siena

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

69. Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61) by the Ovile Master
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

LeMans. Museum.
St. Margaret.

Montichiello. San Leonardo e San Cristoforo.
Madonna and Child.

New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Half-figure of St. Catherine.
Collection of Mr. Carl Hamilton.
Bust figures of two angels. (Formerly in the Collection of Count Ourousoff.)

Philadelphia. Johnson Collection.
Madonna and Child.

Rome. Vatican Gallery.
Half-length figures of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist.

Sant' Ansano in Dofano. House of the chapel.
Carmelite Madonna with St. Elijah and St. Nicholas. Signed and dated 1329.

Siena. Opera del Duomo.
Triptych of the Nativity of the Virgin. Signed and dated 1342.
Accademia delle Belle Arte.
Nos. 62, 64. Sts. Thaddeus, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James (bust figures).
Nos. 79, 81, 82. St. Bartholomew, St. Cecilia, and St. John the Baptist, half-length. Signed and dated 1332.
Nos. 83, 84. Predella pieces of the Carmelite altarpiece.
Nos. 578, 579. Full-length figures of St. Catherine and St. Agnes.
San Francesco.
Crucifixion in chapel to left of the sanctuary.
Risen Christ in the refectory.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

1320. The Arezzo altarpiece.
1320–1329:
The Cortona Madonna.
The Montichiello Madonna.
The Horne saints.
The Le Mans saint.
The Cortona Crucifix.
The Johnson Madonna.
The angels in the Hamilton Collection.
The Assisi Madonna and the frescoes of Christ's Death and Resurrection, and the Stigmatization of St. Francis.
1329. The Carmelite Madonna at Sant' Ansano a Dofana.
The predella pieces from this altarpiece in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 83–84.
1329–1332.
The diptych in the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg.
Saints Thomas, James, Thaddeus, and Bartholomew in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 62 and 64.
1332. Saints Bartholomew, Cecilia, and John the Baptist in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 79, 81, and 82.

1332–1340:

St. Lucy in Sta. Lucia tra le Rovinate at Florence.
Saints Peter and John the Baptist in the Vatican Gallery.
St. Catherine in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.
Female saint in the Collection of Mr. Perkins at Lastra a Signa.
Saints Agnes and Catherine in the Accademia at Siena, Nos. 578–579.
The Daniel pinnacle in the Collection of Mr. Gentner at Florence, 1335.
The Crucifixion in San Francesco, Siena.
The fresco of the Risen Christ in the refectory of San Francesco at Siena.

1340. The Madonna in the Uffizi, Florence.

1342. The Nativity of the Virgin in the Opera del Duomo at Siena.

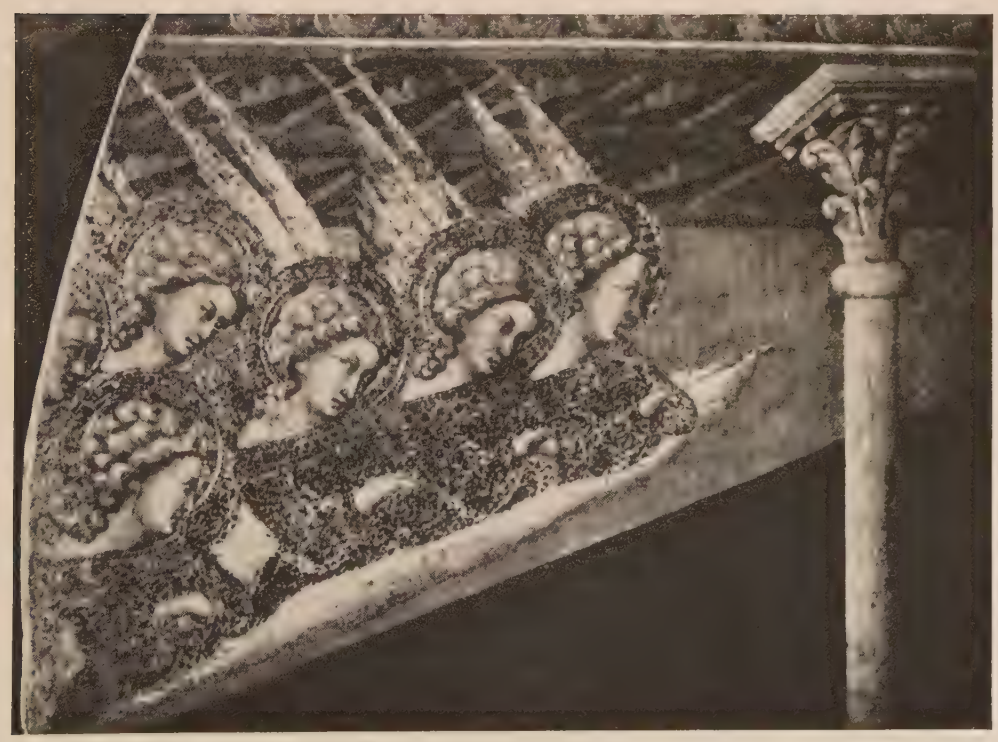
Belonging to this later period:

The Madonna at St. Stefano at Castiglione d'Orcia.
The Madonna in the Collection of Mr. Perkins at Lastra a Signa.
The Madonna in the Collection of Count Serristori at Florence.

The following is a secondary list of paintings which have been attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti at one time or another. Many of them now bear other attributions.

Baltimore, Henry Walters Collection, St. Lucy, Madonna and Saints.
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (no. 1091), now in the storeroom.
Budapest, Gallery, Madonna and Child (no. 44).
Casole, Collegiata, Madonna and Child in fresco.
In the former Achillito Chiesa Collection.
A small Crucifixion (no. 12 in the sale catalogue, vol. II).
A kneeling St. Magdalen (no. 23).
A large triptych of the Madonna and Child with Saints Peter and Paul (no. 48).
Citta di Castello, Galleria del Commune, Madonna and Child.
Florence, Uffizi, Thebaid (no. 16).
Göttingen, University Art Museum, four panels of the Passion.
Gubbio, Museo Civico, Madonna and Child.
London, former Fairfax Murray Collection.
Crucifixion, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
A Madonna and Child, now in the Carl Hamilton Collection(?), New York.
Milan, Collection of Conte Guido Cagnole, Madonna and Child.
Paris, Louvre, Madonna and Child (no. 196).
Pisa, Campo Santo, frescoes of the Triumph of Death, and the Thebaid.
Triptych in former Toscanelli Collection.
Princeton, N. J., Collection of Frank J. Mather, Jr., Crucifixion. (Fig. 86)
Rapolano, Corpus Christi, Madonna and Child.
Rome, sacristy of St. Peter's, missal.
Vatican Gallery, stories from the life of Saint Lawrence (nos. 30–37).
Siena, Accademia delle Belle Arti (nos. 18, 51, 75, 90, 147).
Colegio Tolomei, frescoes.
Opera del Duomo, small Crucifixion.
Eight panels with stories from the legend of the Holy Cross.
Palazzo Pubblico, Sala di Passagio, Annunciation.
San Francesco, a polyptych in fresco.
Altarpiece in the chapel to the right of the choir.
Spedale, frescoes.

70. Siena. Accademia. Detail of Assumption (61). Ovile Master
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)



71. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail of Nativity. Ovile Master
(Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

72. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master

73. Cambridge. Fogg Museum. Detail from The Nativity. Ovile Master

(Courtesy of Fogg Art Museum)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

74. Milan. Poldi Pezzoli. Madonna and Saints
Master of the Dijon triptych

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

75. Siena. Accademia. Paolo di Giovanni Fei

76. Perugia. Pinacoteca

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

77. Dijon. Museum. Triptych. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

78. Dijon. Museum. Detail. Madonna and Saints. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

79. Dijon. Museum. Triptych, left wing, Gabriel, St. Christopher and Christ Child. Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

80. Dijon. Museum. Triptych, right wing, The Virgin Annunciate, and The Crucifixion, Follower of Pietro Lorenzetti

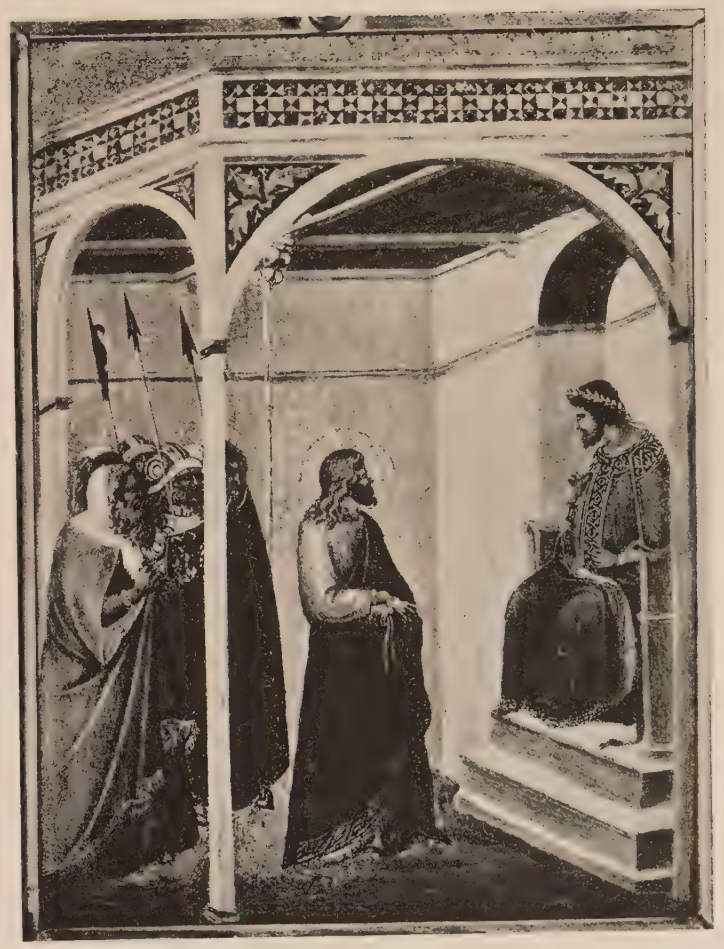
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

81. Settignano. Berenson Collection
Madonna and Child.
Master of the Dijon triptych

82. Florence. Loeser Collection. Madonna and Child
Master of the Dijon triptych

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

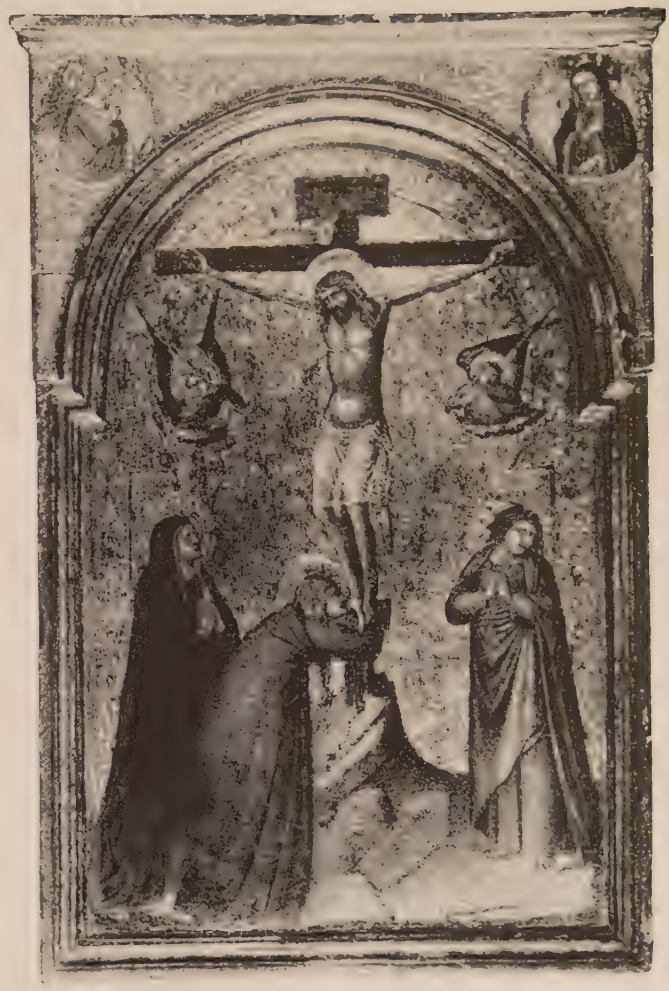
83. London. National Gallery. Christian saints before a Roman tribunal
Master of the Dijon triptych



84. Rome. Vatican Gallery. Christ before Pilate
Master of the Dijon triptych

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

85. Münster in Westphalia, University Museum. Master of the Dijon triptych
(Courtesy of Dr. Adolph Goldschmidt, Berlin)



86. Princeton. Collection of F. J. Mather, Jr.
Bottega of the Dijon master (?)
(Courtesy of Dr. F. J. Mather, Jr.)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

87. Florence. Uffizi. Altarpiece of the Beata Umiltà

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

88. Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

89. Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Panel from Umiltà altarpiece, Florence

90. Siena. Accademia, 92. Allegory of the Cross

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

91. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail showing Creation and Expulsion scenes, and murder of Abel
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

92. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

93. Siena. Accademia, 92. Detail with abbreviated Last Judgment
(Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library)

UNIV. OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

94. Siena. Accademia. View of a city

95. Siena. Accademia. View of a country estate

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

96. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Dance of Salome

97. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Assumption of St. John the Evangelist

98. Siena. Sta. Maria dei Servi. Slaughter of the Innocents

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

99. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Mary Magdalen

100. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. Madonna and Child

101. New York. Collection of Felix Warburg. Triptych. St. Catherine

(Courtesy of Mr. Felix Warburg)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

NORTH ITALIAN GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1. Plaques of Peter and Andrew. Museo Cristiano, nos. 604 and 605

4. Wood relief of St. Donatus. Cathedral, Murano (Planiscig)

2. Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 395 (Dalton)

3. Detail of a triptych by Master Paolo dated 1333. Galleria, Vicenza (Testi)

NORTH ITALIAN GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY[1]

By DONALD DREW EGBERT

In the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican are some thirty-five Gothic ivories. There are several of these which show distinct evidence for a North Italian origin, and in the present article sixteen ivories which offer the clearest indication of such a provenance will be considered. Because of the comparative age of the collection in the Vatican Library, which was founded in 1756 and to which Pius IX (d. 1878) was the last great donor, the question of forgeries is almost negligible. It was only during the latter part of the nineteenth century, after several exhibitions of ivory carving offered to forgers unusual opportunity for studying original ivories, particularly of the Gothic period, that successful counterfeiting began to be frequent.

The importance of the Gothic ivories in the history of art is due to the large number remaining, which makes them one of the best sources for the study of the art of the fourteenth century, the century that produced the greatest flowering of the craft of ivory cutting in Gothic times. The great difficulty of cataloguing the Gothic ivories in the Vatican or in any other collection, lies in the fact that no one has as yet succeeded in making a general and consistent division by ateliers or even by countries. Until 1924, when Raymond Koechlin published his *Les ivoires gothiques français*, there was no real corpus of the material, and even Koechlin has limited himself almost solely to French ivories. However, he considers nearly all Gothic ivories to be French in provenance, and the ivories antedating the end of the fourteenth century which he will admit as other than French are very few indeed. For the great majority he believes Paris to have been the center since the only documents as yet discovered that relate to French ivory cutting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to Paris.

Koechlin admits [2] that some foreign ateliers must have copied or imitated French ivories and that these imitations are difficult to distinguish from the original, so difficult in fact, that when confronted with specific problems of this sort, he decides nearly always for a French provenance. France undoubtedly was the source of inspiration for Gothic art throughout Europe, at least in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Yet, for the purposes of art history, one is no more justified in calling French these imitations of French

[1] *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library*, edited by C. R. Morey and Baldwin Smith, No.5.

[2] R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), vol. I, p. 4.

ivories made by foreign workmen in foreign countries than one is justified in calling Greek a Roman statue in the Greek manner.

The few exceptional pieces of the fourteenth century which Koechlin will definitely admit as non-French he assigns mostly to England. It is manifestly unlikely that there should be so small a number of English ivories as Koechlin claims, particularly as the admitted few are of a very high order of workmanship. To Flanders and Germany he assigns almost none of the earlier Gothic ivories, yet it seems again most unlikely that Flanders and Germany should adopt and imitate from France everything else Gothic, — the arts of building, sculpture, stained glass, and illumination, — and yet neglect ivory cutting so whole heartedly.[1]

It is true that at the end of the fourteenth century Koechlin is forced to admit that French ivory cutting began to suffer a considerable decline and that two foreign influences became paramount, North Italian and Flemish in origin. But in view of the fact that the Hundred Years' War began as early as 1337, it would seem reasonable to suppose that French ivory carving, like the other arts of the time, suffered somewhat of a set-back earlier in the century owing to a partial curtailment of the raw ivory supply if to nothing else. And such early disastrous defeats as Crécy and Poitiers can hardly have helped the market for such a luxury as carved ivory, in spite of the fact that documents showing the existence of some ivory carvers at this time in Paris are extant. The Flemish and Italian predominance in ivory carving, which Koechlin admits to some extent only in the fifteenth century, was, there is reason to believe, in full sway by the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The Italian influence which Koechlin admits in the fifteenth century was that of a North Italian family of ivory cutters called the Embriachi, in whose workshops at Venice are known to have been done certain pieces for the Visconti of Milan. These Italian ivories, which will be discussed in more detail later, generally offer a distinctive feature in the use of bone instead of ivory. This necessitated the use of many small, assembled parts, as bone is difficult to obtain in pieces as large as elephant tusks. By 1400 the Embriachi apparently were exporting their work all over Europe.

Even before the Italian influence of the Embriachi and other Italian craftsmen and artists was spreading north, the Flemish strain with its realistic types and heavy drapery began to filter south. The great meeting place and

[1] It would seem that M. Koechlin's undoubted and thorough knowledge of French Gothic art is so great that, in the case of foreign works based on French models, he discerns so clearly the French elements as to miss entirely the craftsman's local stylistic mannerisms. Because he sees only the French characteristics, Koechlin accordingly calls a given imitation, French, and attempts to group it with other pieces perhaps copied from the same type of French model but of an entirely different provenance, only to be confused by the diversity of styles. Thus, in his way, M. Koechlin represents an unintentional counter-reaction toward calling nearly all Gothic ivories French that is almost as complete as the tendency, which he laments, of the nineteenth century to call them all Italian.

5

6

Embriachi shrines representing the "Man of Sorrows." Museo Cristiano, nos. 612 and 613

7. Embriachi casket. Museum of Industrial Art, Rome (von Schlosser)

8. Embriachi fragments. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

melting pot of these two strains was in North Italy, particularly in Lombardy, and from there the resultant "international style" spread over the continent of Europe. Within the international style the Flemish element was naturally stronger in the North and the Italian in the South, with varying local mixtures in between. The question is immensely complicated by problems of Northern artists in Italy, and so forth, and the international character of the style makes the determination of exact provenances almost impossible in many cases.

Of the Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano (and the term "ivory" will be used to include carved bone), a large number seem to be North Italian in provenance, and it is some of these that will be considered in this article. For simplicity of discussion the North Italian ivories will be somewhat arbitrarily divided into two groups: those which are distinctively Italian in style, and those produced by Italian craftsmen working more or less on the basis of Transalpine models. In order to make clear the stylistic characteristics which are peculiar to North Italy, great emphasis will be laid on the distinctive qualities inherent in the ivories carved by the Embriachi and related ateliers, as the North Italian provenance of such pieces is hardly disputed. The presence of the same stylistic mannerisms will then be used as an important basis for assigning an Italian origin to ivories which are less typically Italian and in which the craftsmen were attempting to imitate Northern models.[1]

GROUP I

Ivories Typically North Italian in Style

1. PLAQUES OF ST. PETER AND ST. ANDREW, nos. 604 and 605 [2] (Fig. 1).

The two bone plaques representing Peter and Andrew,[3] nos. 604 and 605 respectively (Fig. 1), offer every evidence of North Italian provenance in material, technique, and iconography. The material, bone, was a favorite one in North Italy in Gothic times, while ivory was used almost exclusively north of the Alps.

The technique of these two pieces is very similar to that of an ivory in the British Museum [4] (Fig. 2), a leaf of a diptych with Sts. Anthony and Francis represented beneath a trilobed Gothic arch. Dalton gives the piece as Italian

[1] Except in the case of ivories not included by Koechlin in his descriptive catalogue (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II), space will not be taken here to describe the iconography of each piece scene by scene. Only those scenes will be mentioned which offer evidence for a particular provenance or date.

[2] These numbers are the object numbers in the Museo Cristiano.

[3] These were published in R. Kanzler, *Avori della biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1903), Pl. 10, nos. 1(36) and 5(40). Peter and Andrew are identified not only by their names, *S. Petrus* and *S. Andreas*, gilded on the background beside their heads, but also by the attributes of the key and papal tiara for Peter, and the cross for Andrew.

[4] Published by O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London, 1909), no. 395, p. 135.

work of the late fourteenth century. St. Anthony, who is identified by the attributes of the pig, the bell, and the T-headed staff, as well as by the T on his shoulder [1] (a frequent attribute of the Saint in North Italian painting [2]), is, as we shall see, a favorite subject on Italian Gothic ivories.

Eastern influence is shown by the London ivory in the use of imitation Cufic ornament on the robes as well as in the decorative and vertical lettering of the saints' names in the Byzantine manner though in Latin characters. The flatness and verticality of the figures is a Byzantine feature which persists throughout North Italian Gothic art (as will be found in the work of the Embriachi). On the other hand, the twisted columns of the architectural frame with the caps and bases of equal height are typical of Italian Gothic architecture. Finally, the hinge slits cut obliquely into the corner of the edge of the ivory and the holes for pins running diagonally into the face of the ivory at right angles to the slits, represent a method of hinging characteristic of Gothic ivories north of the Alps rather than in Italy.

Because of this mixture of oriental, Italian Gothic, and Transalpine Gothic elements, Venice would seem a most logical place of origin for the ivory. This is borne out by the resemblance of the London piece to certain early Venetian paintings such as a triptych in the Vicenza Gallery (Fig. 3) by Master Paolo signed and dated 1333.[3] Even though it must be admitted that the technique of ivory carving always lagged behind that of the major arts, the resemblance of the ivory to such a painting would make a date in the first half of the fourteenth century seem more reasonable than Dalton's late fourteenth-century dating.

A Venetian provenance for both the ivory of the British Museum and the plaques of the Vatican is further supported by several points of technique and iconography in the Vatican plaques (Fig. 1) themselves. As on the ivory of the British Museum, the figures of the saints here have the Byzantine verticality and stiffness of the figures combined with a smattering of Gothic architecture in the frame. The imitation of Cufic ornament is similar to that on the British Museum leaf, as is also the handling of drapery, particularly on the Peter. The smoothness of the drapery over the upper part of the body, and its tendency to develop into regular, vertical folds which break sharply and evenly around the bottom as they hit the ground, are characteristics that are found throughout the drapery technique of North Italian Gothic art. A tendency to make a sharp and deep cutting of the edge of the jaw or beard so that it seems to jut far over the neck, is also a consistent feature of North Italian sculpture that is seen here on the Peter.

[1] The T on the shoulder of Anthony is possibly but a formalization of the T-headed staff which served him on his wanderings in the desert.

[2] For an example see R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague), vol. VII, p. 316.

[3] According to L. Testi, *La storia della pittura veneziana* (Bergamo, 1909–1915) vol. I, p. 189.

9. Embriachi triptych. National Museum, Florence (Alinari phot.)

10. Embriachi casket. Collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este, Vienna (von Schlosser)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

The stylized foliate ornament in the peaks of the gables of the two Vatican plaques offers evidence both toward a Venetian provenance and toward a date, for it is very much like the painted ornament on a wooden relief of St. Donatus (Fig. 4), dated 1310,[1] which is in the Cathedral of Murano. The papal tiara with one crown worn by Peter gives only an additional bit of evidence toward a fairly early date for the ivory, as the second crown on the tiara was first adopted late in the lifetime of Boniface VIII who died in 1303.[2] This is further supported by the use of a Latin cross with Andrew, for the X cross, commonly known as "Saint Andrew's cross" dates only from about 1400, after which date it rapidly supplanted the Latin cross as an attribute of Andrew.[3]

The single-crowned tiara and the Latin cross, then, could hardly belong to a period much later than 1300. As the ornament and other features resemble Venetian work of the early fourteenth century, a date in the first half of the fourteenth century may be safely assigned to these two Venetian pieces.

2 AND 3. TWO "KISSES OF PEACE" OF "EMBRIACHI" WORKMANSHIP REPRESENTING THE "MAN OF SORROWS," nos. 612 and 613 (Figs. 5 and 6).

The two "kisses of peace"[4] in the Museo Cristiano, nos. 612 and 613[5] (Figs. 5 and 6), both depict the suffering Christ with John and the Virgin on either side of the sarcophagus. They are typical of the technique known as "Certosini" or "Embriachi" work. The term "Embriachi" refers, as has been said, to an atelier, or rather a factory, for the production of carved ivory of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Venice, the head of which is known by documents to have been a certain Baldasarre Embriachi. This Embriachi[6] was a banker and agent of the Visconti of Milan as well as a sculptor. Baldasarre did a portable altar and two caskets for the Certosa of Pavia at the behest of the Visconti in the last decade of the fourteenth century. As these particular pieces were for many years the best-known products

[1] According to L. Planiscig, "Geschichte der venezianischen Skulptur im XIV. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der kunsth. Samml. des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 49–51.

[2] E. Müntz, *La tiare pontificale du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Lille, 1897), p. 14.

[3] According to C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints* (Paris, 1867), p. 288, the St. Andrew's cross "does not seem to go back earlier than the fourteenth century." An interesting example which shows how the X cross of Andrew might have developed from the ordinary Latin cross with arms of unequal length at right angles, is a fragment of stone sculpture in the Louvre, illustrated in *Annuaire des musées nationaux*, 1928, Pl. IX. This shows a figure of Andrew holding a Latin cross but in a slanting position so that it forms an X.

[4] A "kiss of peace," or pax, is the object kissed by the priest in the celebration of the mass and then presented by the acolyte to all officiating ecclesiastics and to the congregation.

[5] Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9, no. 10(35), and Pl. 10, no. 10(45).

[6] The two most important articles in the bibliography of the Embriachi are: (1) H. Semper, "Über ein italienisches Beintriptychon des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums*, vols. XL–XLII (1896–1898), p. 147; (2) J. von Schlosser, "Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der kunsth. Samml. des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, vol. XX, p. 220.

of the atelier, this kind of work with frames of wood inlaid with bone or ivory became known as "Certosini" work. Von Schlosser in his excellent article on the Embriachi distinguished two subdivisions in the atelier — one in the last half of the fourteenth century under Baldasarre, the other a closely related group under a certain Antonio Embriachi, a kinsman of uncertain relationship, who worked in the fifteenth century. Von Schlosser believes apparently that this Embriachi factory was the only one to produce these objects and he accounts for the very evident differences in hands by the mass production which necessitated many workmen within one atelier. It may very well be that sooner or later records will be discovered to show that this type of work was produced by different ateliers throughout North Italy, but as yet only the Embriachi are documented.

The Embriachi work is distinguished first of all by its material, bone. Bone, rather than ivory, was by all odds the more favored material in North Italy in contrast to the regions north of the Alps. This use of bone, which in its raw form comes in smaller pieces than does ivory, necessitated the use of many small units which, ordinarily, are assembled within a frame. In the typical Embriachi work the pieces of bone are set vertically with but one or, occasionally, two figures to a piece, and only very rarely does a single figure overlap from one piece of bone to the next. The figures, because of the narrowness of the bone sections, are of necessity static and vertical. As is very frequent in North Italian art, they are often very tall with tiny heads and with a surprising lack of relation in scale between different figures in the same scene. This extreme tallness, which, incidentally, seems to be a heritage from Byzantine art, is much less marked than usual in the two Vatican pieces.

Besides the long proportions, the figure style of Embriachi work has other very definite characteristics. The figures are ordinarily rendered in a relief that has a flatness of surface with sharply profiled outlines and in which an effect of depth is produced by occasional sharp and deep cutting to give deep shadows. The sharp line of the jaw with a deep shadow beneath, which gives to each head the effect of being set well in front of the neck, is a characteristic that will be seen on other North Italian ivories. The drapery is ordinarily rendered by vertical and parallel folds giving a corrugated effect to the skirts. Sometimes these folds are smoothly rounded as on the figure at the lower left of an Embriachi triptych in the National Museum in Florence (Fig. 9), or on the female figure, Rebecca, in the illustration of the casket in the Museum of Industrial Art in Rome (Fig. 7). The drapery is more often rendered, however, by slashing cuts as on the Museo Cristiano piece, no. 613 (Fig. 6), and on some fragments from the Schnütgen Collection [1] (Fig. 8). The figure style of the Embriachi is very generally marked by its inability to render curves or

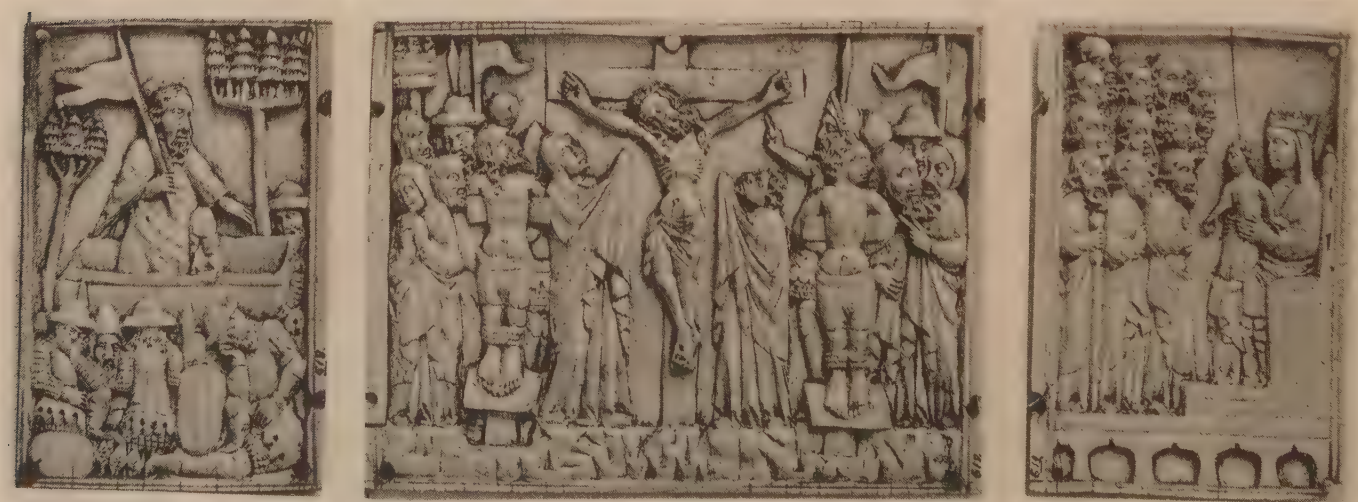
[1] Published by F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln* (Cologne, 1912), Pl. 86.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

11. Diptych. Innes Collection (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)

12. Triptych. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)

13. Stone relief. Abbazia della Misericordia, Venice (Planiscig)



14. Triptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 619

rounded surfaces of any sort. The result is not only a stiffness of articulation that accentuates the verticality of the figures, but usually an appearance of having been executed in a whittling, slashing technique with a knife for the sole tool. There are occasional exceptions, however, as exemplified by the smoothly rounded folds on the casket at Rome already mentioned (Fig. 7). It is customary for the drapery to break sharply in an even line around the bottom of the skirt as it hits the ground, a mannerism that will be found in the other North Italian arts at this time.

The frame of no. 613, which is made of brown and orange wood inlaid with white and green bone, is typical of the frames used by the atelier both in technique and in color. The pilasters that frame the sides of no. 612 are like those which frame the caskets of von Schlosser's second or "Antonio Embriachi" group. However, the figures on the Vatican ivory are more static than was customary in this second group of the Embriachi atelier and in this respect the piece is more like the ivories of the first division. Pilasters that are similar in the alternation of two small reeds with one large one are to be found on a casket of the second group (Fig. 10) published by von Schlosser as in the collection of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este at Vienna.[1] This casket, which in the main depicts the story of Susanna and the Elders but which also has a few extraneous plaques from some other casket, shows in the background the same diaper leaf or flower pattern that is seen on the sarcophagi of both of the Vatican pieces.

As to the date of the two ivories in the Vatican, they are probably almost contemporaneous though certainly not by the same hand. It would seem that they are *retardataire* examples of the style, combining as they do, features of both main divisions of von Schlosser's atelier. Hence an advanced date in the fifteenth century is made likely. Such a dating is further supported by the fact that the "Man of Sorrows" with Christ standing in the sarcophagus so that only the upper part of His body is visible, was frequently represented during the later *Quattrocento* in the art of North Italy, as the paintings of the Venetian Giovanni Bellini and the sculpture of Matteo Civitale of Lucca show.

4. AN IVORY TRIPTYCH REPRESENTING THE RESURRECTION, THE CRUCIFIXION, AND THE ADORATION OF THE APOSTLES, no. 619 (Fig. 14).

The ivory triptych in the Museo Cristiano, no. 619 [2] (Fig. 14), bears a close stylistic resemblance to several other ivories most of which, at one time or another, have been described as of Italian workmanship. As we shall see, there is reason to believe that these pieces are the product of an atelier working either in Venice or under strong Venetian influence.

[1] Von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, no. 123.

[2] Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 18, no. 3(67). This ivory has an inscription on the back that seems to read *cavisi* (?).

The most typical member of the group and the one that serves best as a center around which to group the others, is a diptych in the Innes Collection (Fig. 11) which has been published in the catalogue (1923) of the Burlington Fine Arts Club,[1] where it is given as Italian work of the early fifteenth century. The wings of the diptych are, however, incorrectly called plaques "perhaps from a casket" in spite of the hinge holes in which, as was the case also in the Vatican triptych, interlocking loops of wire were set to be held in place by spreading the ends of the wire on the back of the ivory. This wire-loop method of hinging is the one also found on Embriachi polyptychs (see Fig. 9) and seems to be the type most generally used in Italy. On the other hand, north of the Alps true hinges with the flanges inserted in a slot cut diagonally in the corner of the edge of the ivory and held by pins driven diagonally in the face of the piece and at right angles to the flange, were ordinarily employed [2] (see Fig. 43).

The left wing of the Innes diptych shows the Madonna and Child and four saints. To the left are St. Anthony Abbot and St. Catherine of Alexandria, while to the right are shown St. James Major and a bishop who may represent St. Nicholas because of the three tangent circles on his shoulder, possibly intended for the three golden apples or purses which are his attributes. On the right wing of the diptych are carved the Flagellation and the Crucifixion.

In the Madonna and Saints several points are to be noted. The hanging behind the Madonna is a favorite characteristic in the representations of her in North Italian painting, particularly in Venice, a point well illustrated by several of the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini. The treatment of the beard of St. Anthony, with its curving, opposed strands, follows a formula also frequent in North Italian painting, a good example of which is the beard of the St. Jerome on the Bologna altarpiece of Bartolommeo and Antonio Vivarini (Fig. 15), fifteenth-century Muranese painters and rivals of Giovanni Bellini. The staff held by St. James, with round knobs at the top and bottom of the handle and a third knob just above the point, is a pilgrim's staff of a type that will be found on other ivories of this group. The treatment of the beard of St. Nicholas (?) and of the hair on the Child, in which a round knob serves for each little curl, is frequently found in North Italian painting and is a formula which seems to have been derived from Byzantine art, being frequent on the Byzantine caskets. The eye technique, such as is seen on the Madonna, in which the eyeball protrudes strongly and is slit or drilled, is a mannerism found on the other members of the group, though here it is enhanced by the painting of the iris.

[1] Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Carvings in Ivory* (London, 1923), no. 167, p. 94.

[2] The "diagonal pin" method of hinging may well have had its prototype in the hinges used on certain Byzantine polyptychs such as the famous Harbaville triptych in the Louvre, which has somewhat similar diagonal pins.

15. Detail. Altarpiece by Bartolommeo and Antonio Vivarini. Pinacoteca, Bologna (Testi)

16. Detail. Embriachi casket in the Cluny Museum (von Schlosser)

17. Comb. Bargello (von Schlosser)

18. Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 389 (Dalton)

19. Leaf of a diptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)

20. Leaf of a diptych. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

The stars in the background of the right leaf of the Innes diptych recall the similar use of stars in the German School of Cologne, found occasionally also in North Italian painting,[1] very possibly through German influence. In the Crucifixion, the over-foreshortened feet of Christ cut squarely off across the toes is a feature that will be found on other ivories to which I would give a North Italian provenance, notably the pax of the Crucifixion in the Vatican (Fig. 51). The peculiar square fleurons carved on the flat arch over the Crucifixion of the Innes piece are to be found also on several related ivories to be discussed.

Before proceeding to consider the other ivories which I place in the same group with the Innes diptych, it will be well to discuss further the evidence offered by the Innes piece for a Venetian provenance or at least for an origin not far from Venice. Such an origin is supported by the resemblance of the style of the Innes diptych to that of more definitely Venetian pieces — the plaques of Peter and Andrew in the Vatican, an ivory triptych in the Metropolitan Museum, and also the products of the Embriachi workshops which, as we have seen, were located in Venice.

The style of the Innes diptych in several respects reminds one of the plaques of Peter and Andrew (Fig. 1) in the Museo Cristiano to which a probable Venetian provenance has already been given in this article. In the first place the little painted arabesques of formalized Oriental foliate ornament in the spandrels of the Innes ivory are similar to those already noted on the Vatican plaques and on the wood relief at Murano (Fig. 4). Also the bands of painted ornament placed well above the edge of the skirts of St. Anthony and St. Nicholas on the diptych recall the similar location of the bands on the Peter and Andrew. Finally, as was pointed out in the Burlington Catalogue, the Innes diptych is almost identical in style with that leaf of a diptych in the British Museum representing Sts. Anthony and Francis (Fig. 2) to which we so closely compared the plaques of Peter and Andrew in the Vatican.

The style and decoration of the Innes ivory is also quite similar to that of an Italian triptych in the Metropolitan Museum [2] (Fig. 12). This ivory is typically Venetian in the use of little half-figures growing out of the crockets

[1] A North Italian example is the Santa Lucia altarpiece at Rovigo by Quirizio da Murano, fifteenth-century Muranese painter (see Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 519).

[2] The iconography of this piece reading down each wing and beginning at the left is as follows:

(1) Left wing: (*a*) St. Lawrence (in gable). (*b*) Crucifixion. (*c*) Unknown bishop with St. Catherine of Siena(?).

(2) Central wing: (*a*) The Annunciation (in gable). A peculiarity to be noted is the fact that the angel is carved without wings, though there is a bare possibility that these may have been originally supplied with paint. The omission of angels' wings is a peculiarity that is Italian and German rather than French. In Germany wingless angels are to be found in Rhenish enamels of the twelfth century (see J. Braun, *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der vorgotischen Zeit*, vol. II, Pls. 92–96, p. 17). (*b*) Left side: Sts. Peter, John the Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria. (*c*) Center: The Madonna and Child. (*d*) Right side: Sts. Paul, James Major (?), Onofrio, or possibly the Magdalen.

(3) Right wing: (*a*) St. Lucy (in gable). (*b*) St. Francis and St. Clara. (*c*) St. Christopher and St. Anthony.

on the raking gable, a feature frequently found in Venetian monumental sculpture as, for example, a relief at the Abbazia della Misericordia (Fig. 13) the architecture of which is that of the second half of the fourteenth century.[1] Another example is the tomb of Michele Morosini in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, also in Venice.[2] A possible dating *a quo* for the Metropolitan ivory may be offered by the female saint who is represented holding a crucifix on the lower left wing, for this may be St. Catherine of Siena who was canonized in 1461. However, as such a date would seem too late for the piece, I hesitate to recognize her in this figure, which particularly well displays the flatness of the lower part of the body and the corrugation of the drapery which is so like that of the Embriachi work (see Fig. 8). Among the other Venetian characteristics of the Metropolitan triptych is the central ogee arch which possesses those complicated double curves so typical of Venetian Gothic architecture.[3]

Perhaps the best evidence for proving the North Italian origin of the Innes diptych and its group is the many stylistic resemblances which it bears to the products of the workshops of the Embriachi in Venice. The point has already been made that the hinge holes of the Innes ivory show that the original hinges were of the wire-loop type found on Embriachi polyptychs, and also to be found on the Venetian triptych in the Metropolitan (Fig. 12). The Embriachi casket in the Museum of Industrial Art in Rome [4] (Fig. 7), already mentioned in another connection, shows similar gilded foliate decorations and the skirt of Rebecca, the central female figure of the illustration, displays the usual Italian corrugated drapery folds to be found on the figures of St. Anthony and St. Nicholas (?) and particularly on the flagellants of the Innes diptych. This sort of drapery is also to be found on a group of ivories classified by von Schlosser either as forgeries or as related to the work of the Embriachi.[5] An example of this group, for which no real evidence to prove its members forgeries has been given, is a comb in the Bargello (Fig. 17). When we come to discuss the Vatican triptych (Fig. 14), we shall find the corrugated drapery once more, though in a somewhat different and more sharply cut form.

Now that distinct resemblances have been pointed out between the Innes diptych as the key piece of a group on the one hand, and Venetian ivories

[1] According to Planiscig, *op. cit.*, p.158.

[2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 160, p. 207.

[3] There is another ivory in the Metropolitan Museum, a plaque with a single figure, no. 17 .190 .259, which displays an ogee arch identical in form with that of the triptych. The plaque is also probably Venetian in provenance.

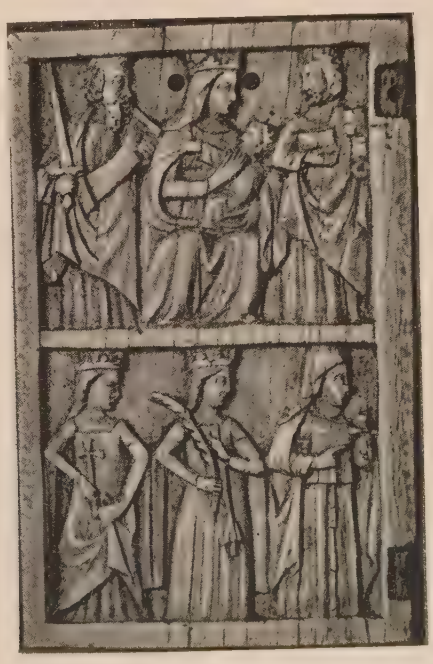
[4] The illustration given shows only one end with scenes from the story of Jacob and Esau.

[5] Von Schlosser is inclined to believe that this group is made up of modern forgeries (see von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 252), but he offers no proof to this effect and admits that he thinks rather than knows these pieces to be false. In view of the fact that one of the group, a casket in Berlin (see W. Vöge, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Die Elfenbeinbildwerke* [Berlin, 1900], no. 150), was acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1844, the suspicion of forgery seems to be highly unjustified.

21. Diptych. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)

22. Triptych. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (Kehrer)

23. Tomb. Cathedral, Casole (A. Venturi)



24. Leaf of a diptych. National Museum, Munich (Berliner)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

such as the Vatican plaques of Peter and Andrew, the Metropolitan triptych, and various Embriachi pieces on the other, the ivories which center directly around the Innes diptych can be discussed. For them as for the Innes piece a provenance not far from Venice and a date of the first half of the fifteenth century is probable.

In the Burlington Catalogue of 1923, the triptych in the Museo Cristiano, no. 619 (Fig. 14), was one of the ivories mentioned as related to the Innes piece. The Vatican ivory represents the three scenes of the Resurrection, the Crucifixion, and, an unusual scene, the Adoration of the Apostles. As on the Innes diptych the hinges which linked the three leaves together were of the Italian wire-loop type and a fragment of one of the loops still remains in the hinge hole on the upper right side of the central leaf.

In the Resurrection, the long, pointed trees with their formalized horizontal divisions are a distinctive feature that is very well paralleled by Embriachi trees as found on a casket in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 16), though I have been able to find no parallel for the extraordinary candelabrum arrangement. The casket in the Cluny is placed by von Schlosser in the early fifteenth century, a period to which the costumes of the soldiers on the Vatican triptych seem to belong. A form of fringe like that on the shirts of the sleeping soldiers in the Resurrection is to be found on the Bargello comb (Fig. 17) and on the other ivories which go with it. Von Schlosser has stated that the costumes on these pieces are those of the late *Trecento*. The Bargello comb also shows a visored helmet identical with that worn by the Centurion in the Crucifixion of the Vatican ivory. The helmets with encircling flanges, much like the modern American trench helmet, that are to be found on most of the soldiers in the Resurrection scene of the Vatican piece, are, however, of a fifteenth-century type.[1] This combination of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century elements would seem to date the piece in the early fifteenth century.

The use of leaves projecting vertically from the ground, as in the Resurrection of the Vatican ivory, is an old Italo-Byzantine formula that is found also on the Bargello comb, though the leaf there is of a different variety. A similar sort of leaf, though in this case on a tree, is to be seen on an ivory mirror case in the British Museum (Fig. 26), which is given by Dalton as Italian work of the late fourteenth century.[2]

In the Crucifixion of the Vatican triptych the crucified Christ is very similar to that of the Innes ivory and the Jews strongly recall the St. Anthony of the Innes piece. The pennons in the background are paralleled both in form and in technique of cutting by those on fragments of two combs in the British

[1] A similar helmet in the Museo Bardini in Florence is illustrated in *Dedalo* (1925–26), p. 169, as a product of the fifteenth century.

[2] Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 415, Pl. 90, p. 142.

Museum (Fig. 30) which Dalton calls Italian work of the late fourteenth century [1] and which also show helmets of the types worn by the Centurion in the Crucifixion and by the second soldier from the left in the Resurrection of the Vatican ivory; they also have, like the Bargello comb, the V-notched or "La Scala" battlement, a favorite Italian form. The pennon is to be found on a third Italian ivory, a comb in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 29).

Besides the Vatican triptych I would place in the group directly centered around the Innes piece an ivory in the British Museum (Fig. 18). This, which is probably the leaf of a diptych, represents the Woman Taken in Adultery and at the Museum is given as German work of the late fourteenth century [2] though it would seem to be by the same hand as the Vatican triptych, so similar is the style.[3]

In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is a fragment with St. Anthony and a Madonna represented thereon [4] (Fig. 19) the style of which is extremely like that of the Innes diptych. In the museum catalogue Vöge has suggested a fifteenth-century date and tentatively ascribed a Spanish provenance to the piece. He wrongly says that the piece was probably part of a casket, for the usual hinge holes show it to have been originally the leaf of a diptych or triptych. The names of the figures, *S. ANTONIUS* and *MATER DEI*, are inscribed around their heads. The arcades over the figures are like those of the left wing of the Innes ivory in lacking capitals at the juncture of the arches. The throne of the Madonna is like that of the Innes piece, while the St. Anthony offers a further good example of the corrugated North Italian drapery.

A fifth member of the group, a plaque in the Nuremberg Museum which was originally the right leaf of a diptych, represents three saints — Bartholomew, James the Greater, and the favorite Anthony Abbot [5] (Fig. 20). The hinge holes, though at present filled in, indicate the original wire hinges, and again the drapery is vertical and corrugated. At the Museum the piece is called Italian work of the fourteenth century, which is too early a date. Koechlin more correctly calls it an Italian ivory of the fifteenth century and aptly characterizes its style as representative of a decayed Giottesque tradition.[6]

There is a diptych published in the catalogue of the Schnütgen Collection at Cologne [7] (Fig. 21), which also must be placed with the Innes and Vatican

[1] Dalton, *op. cit.*, nos. 413 and 414, p. 142. [2] *Ibid.*, no. 389, Pl. 53, p. 132.

[3] Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *op. cit.*, (1923), no. 168, mentions as very similar to the Woman Taken in Adultery, an Adoration of the Magi in the possession of the Earl of Crawford, of which I have seen no reproduction. This is called Italian work of the beginning of the fifteenth century, an attribution which coincides with that given to the group in this article.

[4] Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 154, Pl. 36.

[5] W. Josephi, *Kataloge des germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1910), p. 366, no. 635.

[6] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 349, note 1, also Pl. 173, no. 985–D.

[7] F. Witte, *op. cit.*, Pl. 84, no. 11.

25. Mirror case. Museo Cristiano, no. 626

26. Mirror case. British Museum, no. 415 (Dalton)

27. Mirror case. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)

28. Comb. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (von Schlosser)

a *b*

29. Fragment of a comb. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

ivories. Witte has published this, which came from an old private collection in Magdeburg, as Saxon (?) work of the sixteenth century. The left wing shows St. Anthony Abbot, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and the Magdalen. On the right wing is the Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, and St. James Major shown at either side of the cross. Here again we see the square fleurons already found on two other ivories in the group, the Innes and Nuremberg pieces (Figs. 11 and 20), and here also is to be noticed the absence of capitals where the arches meet. The wire hinges are not the original ones as Witte states, for each hinge at present consists of but one loop of wire instead of the two interlocking loops that should be used.

A seventh example which offers evidence of being the product of the same atelier is a triptych in the Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum in Vienna (Fig. 22). It has been published by Kehrer [1] as Germano-Italian work of about 1390. His date seems to be a little too early and probably does not take into account the fact that ivory cutting has always tended to lag behind the other arts. On the left wing of the triptych are represented St. Margaret and St. Catherine. The center panel shows the Adoration of the Magi (which reads from right to left instead of the more usual left to right), with God the Father in the sky and the Holy Ghost apparently issuing from his mouth.[2] On the right wing are carved an unknown saint and the Magdalen. The Magdalen's skirt shows the Italian drapery formula and the crockets on the central gable are of a type to be found in Italian Gothic architecture and sculpture (see Fig. 23). The present hinges are not, however, the usual Italian wire loops.

In Munich is the wing of a diptych with the Madonna and five saints represented in two registers [3] (Fig. 24) that appears to be a very crude example of the stylistic manner of the preceding ivories. It may be that the piece is the product of some provincial imitation of the style. The saints represented flanking the Madonna are Paul and Peter, and in the lower row are three female saints, Helena, Ursula, and Clara. The drapery formula and the eye technique are those of the group which has been centered around the Innes diptych.

The fact that five out of the eight of the group are at present in Germany or Austria (several of them having been known in those countries at least since the early part of the nineteenth century) may perhaps be best explained by

[1] H. Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. II, p. 164.

[2] This rare use of God the Father and the Holy Ghost in connection with the Adoration of the Magi is also to be seen in a fifteenth-century Venetian painting ascribed to various artists and illustrated in Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 324. The feature of the Holy Ghost partially in the mouth of the Father is frequently found in representations of the Trinity in Germany and is sometimes found in North Italy. It is, however, very rare in France. A North Italian example of this is to be found on a Bellinesque triptych in the Museo Civico at Venice, illustrated in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1913), Pt. II, p. 195.

[3] Given by R. Berliner, *Die Bildwerke des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums*, IV Abteilung, no. 76, p. 28, as Italian work of the second half of the fifteenth century.

assuming a North Italian, or more exactly a Venetian, carver or carvers working in Germany or Austria in the early fifteenth century. Another explanation might be that these ivories were made in Venice at that time to be exported to Germany. At any rate, a Venetian provenance of one sort or another certainly best accounts for the style of this group of ivories.[1]

5. A MIRROR CASE REPRESENTING THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS, no. 626 (Fig. 25).

There are several ivories, mostly isolated examples, that have much in common with the preceding group and with the Embriachi ivories but which cannot be given as the product of a single atelier. Several of these have already been mentioned as showing parallels with the Innes diptych and the ivories that belong with it. The mirror case in the Museo Cristiano, no. 626 [2] (Fig. 25), has many characteristics in common with nearly all these other North Italian ivories though not by the same hand or from the same workshop as any one of them. This mirror case, on which is represented the Massacre of the Innocents, is called by Koechlin a work of the decayed Embriachi tradition [3] though, as we shall see, the costumes show it to be of about the date when the atelier of the Embriachi was still in its prime, in other words, early in the fifteenth century. The heavy acanthus leaves on top of the flat, non-Gothic gable are derived from a classic form, and that particular leaf which is used as a space filler to the right of the right-hand column has the veins rendered with the same method of double lines that is used in the acanthus leaves above the "Man of Sorrows" on the Vatican piece in the Embriachi style, no. 613 (Fig. 6). The style of the mirror case also has in common with the work of the Embriachi an inability on the part of the craftsman to carve curves.

Among the other North Italian ivories that have much in common with the Vatican mirror are two mirror cases of courtly subject, one in the British Museum [4] (Fig. 26) and another in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg [5] (Fig. 27), the first of which is dated by Dalton as late fourteenth century, and the second by Josephi about 1400. Both ivories are rightly called Italian. The

[1] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 349, note 1, has made a fairly complete assemblage of the group. He mentions the Nuremberg leaf, the Berlin fragment, the British Museum Woman Taken in Adultery, the Schnütgen diptych, the Innes diptych, and the plaque in the Lord Crawford Collection. He fails to mention as members of the group the Vatican triptych, the Vienna triptych, and the Munich leaf. He also would include as products of the same atelier, a diptych in the Cluny representing Four Saints, and a Baptism of Christ in the Hunziker Collection in Paris, of which I have been able to secure no photographs. The plaque in Berlin representing St. George and the Dragon (Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 126, Pl. 34), which Koechlin includes in the same group, bears no relation to the group, except that the plaque also is Italian. An ivory very close to the St. George, however, that is not mentioned by Koechlin, is a plaque published in *Les Arts* (Aug., 1909), p. 7, at that time in the Piet-Lataudrie Collection. This plaque is given as representing a prophet, though more probably it is intended to be an evangelist without his symbol.

[2] Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9, no. 7(33).

[3] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 413.

[4] Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 415, Pl. 90.

[5] Josephi, *op. cit.*, no. 641, p. 368.

a *b*

30. Fragments of combs. British Museum, nos. 413 and 414 (Dalton)

31. Plaque. Museo Cristiano, no. 757

32. Ascension scene from an illuminated missal.
Cathedral, Mantua (d'Ancona)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

male costumes, which have a shirt bordered with a saw-tooth edging and held in place by a broad belt set low on the hips, are found on the Vatican mirror as well as on the other two examples. Similar costumes are to be found on the Bargello comb (Fig. 17) and other ivories which von Schlosser groups with it in his article on the Embriachi. As has been said, von Schlosser is somewhat inclined to believe them forgeries without being able to adduce any real evidence to prove their falsity. An ivory which von Schlosser believes is a product of the same Embriachesque workshop that produced the Bargello comb, is a comb in the Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum in Vienna representing the unusual subject of a queen who offers a helmet to a kneeling knight on each side of her. This last comb, because of its perfect condition, caused much of the suspicion felt by von Schlosser toward the group. However, with it must be placed the fragment of a comb in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 29) which has the same subject and the style of which is apparently beyond question. Very similar in style to this are two fragments of combs in the British Museum (Fig. 30) which Dalton calls Italian works of the late fourteenth century.[1] These also display the same costumes and the V-notched, "La Scala" battlements, which were not used outside of Italy to any extent.

Like the Vatican triptych (Fig. 14) and its related ivories, all these mirrors and combs have in common the Italianate corrugation of drapery. They all show the same sort of protruding eye and a similar stylization of foliage. Furthermore, they display not only similar details of costume but the same figure style with its stiff verticality extended even to figures in action that relates them at once to the Vatican triptych and its fellows and at the same time to the school of the Embriachi. Because of these common characteristics a provenance is bespoken that, if not Venetian, cannot be far from Venice; while, on the basis of the costumes, the ivories can be dated about 1400.

6. PLAQUE OF FOUR APOSTLES BENEATH ARCADES, no. 757 (Fig. 31).

The Vatican plaque with four apostles beneath arcades,[2] no. 757 (Fig. 31), is called by Koechlin French work of the late fifteenth century; he names the apostles from left to right as Sts. Bartholomew, Matthew, Matthias, and Simon. The first figure Koechlin calls Bartholomew probably because he believes that the apostle holds a flaying knife. However, the object that the saint holds is more probably a fish, in which case Simon the Apostle is intended. In calling the third saint Matthias, because of the attribute of the pike-staff, Koechlin is probably correct. The second saint, with the attribute of the T-square, might be either Jude, Matthew, Thomas, or Matthias, but we have already given the third apostle as Matthias. As between Matthew, Thomas, and Jude, Jude would seem the most likely because of the fact that

[1] Dalton, *op. cit.*, nos. 413, 414, p. 142.

[2] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 965.

this saint is facing Simon. The last apostle holds a saw, the attribute of either Simon (as he is identified by Koechlin), or James the Less. If the one with the fish is Simon, as we have said, this one would be James the Less. Koechlin calls the ivory a plaque from a casket, which is probable.

Peculiarities to be noted in the architectural frame and background are the cross-hatched ground, the unusual capitals with what seem to be stilt-blocks on top, the bases with their broad stone-joints, and the rendering of the trefoils in the spandrels by almond-shaped piercings. As to the figures, perhaps the most prominent features are the jutting chin with the crisp straight line of jaw and beard, and the rendering of the hair in straight and parallel ridges. The general flatness of the figures and the method of rendering the drapery, particularly the huge, even folds of the underskirts, are distinctive points.

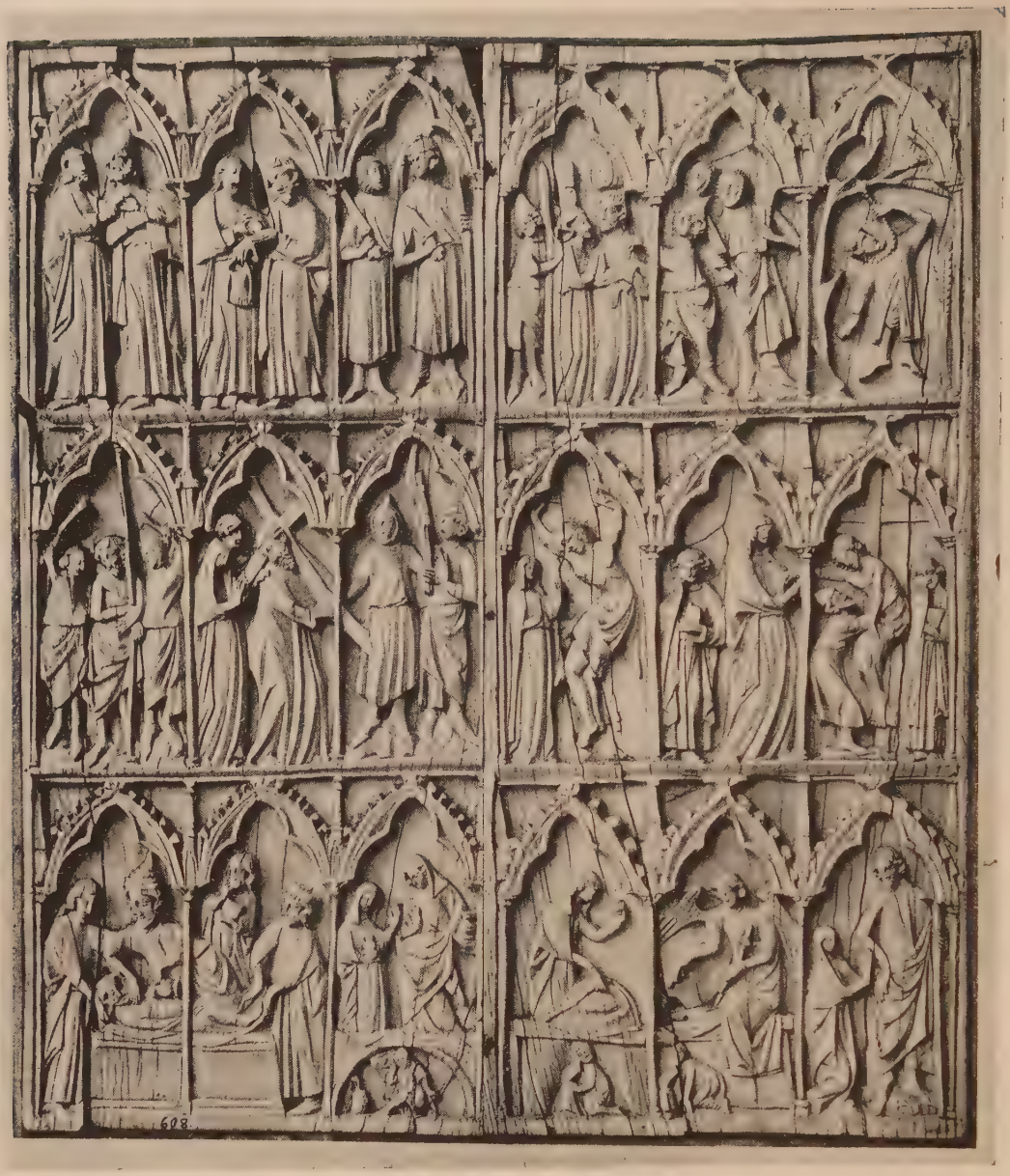
This ivory is, in all probability, Italian work from the northern part of Italy in spite of Koechlin's attribution to France. I have been unable to find any ivories that are very close to it in workmanship. Nevertheless, it compares well in style with an Ascension scene from an illuminated missal in Mantua Cathedral (Fig. 32) done by Girolamo da Cremona [1] about 1440–1450. In this scene we see the same type of jutting chin with its sharp, straight line of the jaw. The costumes of the apostles are identical with those on the ivory — similar heavy cloaks partially thrown over the shoulders and partially covering the parallel folds of the straight-hanging, ankle-length skirts. The rendering of the hair on the ivory seems like a reduction by the impotent hand of the ivory carver of the separated curly locks so meticulously rendered by the miniaturist.

Among other evidences pointing toward an Italian provenance is, first of all, the use of carved haloes with the apostles, a feature not customary in the French and German sculpture and ivory cutting of the same date. This sort of carved halo with an incised line near the edge is identical with those on the Virgin and St. John in one of the Vatican "Embriachi" pieces (Fig. 6). More than anything else, however, the material, bone, bespeaks an Italian provenance, for bone, as we have seen in considering the Embriachi work, was the favorite material of North Italy, and was much less frequently employed north of the Alps.

The ivory certainly dates in the *Quattrocento* since the cross-hatched backgrounds on ivories, very possibly the result of the influence of engraving, were particularly popular in the fifteenth century. The monument which has offered the best parallel, the miniature at Mantua, has been assigned to a period about 1440–1450, which indicates that Koechlin's dating in the late fifteenth century is possibly somewhat too late for the ivory.

[1] According to P. d'Ancona, *La miniature italienne du X^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1925), pp. 52, 53, and Fig. 64, Pl. 48.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA



33. Diptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 608

a *b*

34. Bolognese miniatures from the Cod. Edili 97. Laurentian Library, Florence (d'Ancona)

NORTH ITALIAN GOTHIC IVORIES

GROUP II

Some North Italian Ivories that Imitate Transalpine Models

There will be less dispute over the assignment of an Italian provenance to the ivories thus far considered than over those yet to be discussed. The inherent North Italian qualities and characteristics have been quite evident in most of the above ivories because the craftsman was not attempting to imitate closely a foreign model. I have dealt with these previous pieces at considerable length in an effort to make clear their inherent Italian characteristics in order that those qualities might be the more easily detected in the following Gothic ivories, which I believe were made by Italian workmen in imitation of French or German models. As has already been mentioned, M. Koechlin in his corpus of French Gothic ivories, tends to call French all imitations of the French ivories. But even in a very close copy, the Italian carver is likely to betray himself by falling into traditional Italian mannerisms. He will often slip into Italian drapery formulas, use the Italian wire hinges, lengthen out his figures, and keep them vertical and static in the Byzantine and Embriachesque manner.

The two great currents of Northern influence which flowed into Italy in the Gothic centuries came, first, from France and, secondly, from Flanders and Germany. French influence in North Italy was strongest in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in other words during that period when the Gothic style was spreading all over Europe from its source in the Île-de-France. In the thirteenth century were built such Italian churches in the new Gothic manner as Vercelli, Casamari, Fossanova, and San Francesco at Assisi. The close relation of French and Italian painting in the early fourteenth century is a commonplace of art history, as is also the reciprocal influence exerted by Simone Martini, the great Siennese, and the other painters who worked for the popes at Avignon. In the minor arts, notably in illumination, the influence of France on Italy was very strong and French models were often carefully copied. D'Ancona has discussed at some length a school of illumination of the late thirteenth century in Bologna which worked in the French manner and at the head of which he would place a certain Oderisi of Gubbio.[1] This Oderisi was mentioned by Dante as one of those in the first circle of Purgatory who had sinned in pride:

> *"Oh," diss' io lui, "non se' tu Oderisi*
> *L'onor d'Agobbio e l'onor di quell'arte*
> *Che alluminare e chiamata in Parisi?"*

No signed works by Oderisi are left. There are, however, several illuminated judicial and ecclesiastical manuscripts of a kind that well fits Dante's

[1] P. d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18, and also an article in *Dedalo* (1921–22), pp. 89–100, by the same author.

description of the sort of work which must have been produced by Oderisi and his School (see Fig. 34). Not only do the illuminations betray a mixture of French and Bolognese elements but the text itself shows a combination of script most of which is distinctively Bolognese with some elements that are definitely French. Indeed, so French in appearance are some of the manuscripts that they have occasionally been considered to be the product of French artists working in Italy. But, as d'Ancona has pointed out, there are too many Bolognese characteristics, such as the greater part of the script and the distinctive Bolognese red and turquoise-blue color, for these manuscripts to be the work of French hands. It is much more reasonable to suppose with d'Ancona that these works are the product of a Bolognese school which drew its inspiration from France. The French element should not be so surprising in a great university town which drew a large number of students from France; in fact, one of the few surviving documents relating to Oderisi speaks of him in relation to three French students.

During the fourteenth century, France was enmeshed in the Hundred Years, War, and as one result thereof Flemish and German artisans began to secure unrivalled supremacy in Europe. The French influence in North Italy was largely superseded by German, to be revived somewhat with the advent of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I in Italy at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

Following the spread of Flemish and Germanic art and artists throughout Europe and particularly owing to their meeting with Italian influences in North Italy, the "international style" developed in the second half of the fourteenth century. That German artists and sculptors worked throughout Italy is shown by a considerable amount of documentary evidence. The difference between the German and Flemish qualities on the one hand, and those indigenous to North Italy on the other, are particularly difficult to distinguish because of their common Byzantine heritage which, in the case of Germanic art, had entered in the time of the Ottonian emperors, whereas the influence of Byzantine art in North Italy was strongest in the thirteenth century. This common heritage of the two main factors in the "international style" as it appears in North Italy makes the problem of the determination of provenances particularly difficult, complicated as it is by the interchange of artists between the different countries during the period. A specific symptom of the Northern factor in Italian style in ivories of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is the influence thereon of metal and wood engraving. The graver's technique, at home in Germany, had great influence on the arts of illumination and ivory cutting.[1] To its influence is probably due the cross-hatching of the background in so many of the late Gothic ivories.

[1] The influence of engraving on ivory cutting is mentioned by von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

35. Fresco. SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome (van Marle)

36. Bolognese miniature. Vatican Library, lat. 2534

37. Polyptych. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)

38. Diptych. Formerly in the Antocolsky Collection, Paris (Antocolsky Catalogue)

39. Casket cover. Baboin Collection, Lyon (Koechlin)

1. DIPTYCH WITH SCENES OF THE PASSION, no. 608 (Fig. 33).

One of the earlier Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano which I believe to be North Italian under the influence of a Transalpine model is the diptych with scenes of the Passion of Christ, no. 608 [1] (Fig. 33). Koechlin, though he points out that this piece shows the influence of the group of ivories which he centers around the diptych supposed to have come from the treasure of St.-Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[2] includes the Vatican ivory in another group which he makes up of all diptychs with rosette ornament. These "rosette" ivories he is careful to say are not all the products of one distinct atelier. Digby Wyatt long ago wrongly ascribed all Gothic ivories decorated with roses to England. Some few are definitely English, as Koechlin admits, but he claims the great majority for France. He rightly points out that similar roses can be found in French stone carving and stained glass. But, as a matter of fact, the rosette motive is a form of decoration that was used throughout Europe in the Gothic period and no provenance can be reasonably based on such a universal form.

Koechlin subdivides his "rosette" group into two parts, a subdivision that merely further complicates a group of doubtful value. The first part he calls the "picturesque" division — those in which comic or genre details are included in various scenes. The second he calls the "tragic" group because the ivories which he includes in this seem to him to possess dramatic sentiment that is lacking in the first subdivision.

The Vatican ivory, no. 608 (Fig. 33), Koechlin places in his second or "tragic" group of the "rosette" diptychs.[3] This ivory itself does not have the rose decorations, but several ivories similar in style do possess them. The lay-out of scenes and the order of reading are the same as in many of the ivories in Koechlin's "Atelier of Soissons," named after a piece supposed to have come from the treasure of St.-Jean-des-Vignes in that city. Besides this apparently Transalpine influence, there are, as we shall see, decided parallels between the Vatican diptych and Italian works, particularly the ivories produced by the atelier of the Embriachi. This combination of Northern and Italian elements would make North Italy, the great stylistic melting pot, the most likely place

[1] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15, no. 1(61), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 271. Koechlin calls the ivory French.

[2] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 38.

[3] This "rosette" group with its "tragic" and "genre" subdivisions is an amorphous classification; many of the members of it have stylistically nothing in common with one another. The many varieties of style in fourteenth-century ivory cutting which cause Koechlin so much confusion when he attempts to form ateliers on a basis of an all-French provenance, are much more easily explained on the grounds of local schools of ivory cutters all over Europe that imitated models originated in France. All Europe in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was imitating the style of the Île-de-France in the arts of building, monumental sculpture, stained glass, and illumination, with varying amounts of local originality. It would seem but reasonable to suppose that the same thing took place in the craft of ivory cutting.

of origin. Thus I believe the Vatican ivory, no. 608 (Fig. 33), to be North Italian in workmanship, and I would date it in the early fourteenth century rather than in the middle of the century as Koechlin would have it.[1]

There are many peculiarities to be explained on this Vatican ivory. In the first place, it is at present mounted on a wooden backing and frame which is not original. Nevertheless, it shows no indication whatsoever of having been hinged as a diptych though Koechlin calls it such. If it was a diptych, as it may well have been, it must have been set in a frame and the hinges attached to the frame, which immediately recalls the Embriachi technique of mounting bone or ivory plaques within a wooden frame.

Iconographically there are many unusual points. The gesture of Judas before the High Priest in the upper left corner of the ivory, with two fingers of the one hand laid on the palm of the other, is not usual and will be seen on an ivory in the Sulzbach Collection (Fig. 40) that bears other resemblances to this one. The scenes tend to lap from one plaque over to the next[2] as may be seen in the Arrest of Christ and the Holy Women at the Tomb. In the Arrest of Christ, one of the two soldiers on the left plaque lays his hand on the head of the other in a gesture that I have been unable to interpret. In the Bearing of the Cross, the soldier on the middle register who carries the three nails (or possibly the three stakes to fasten the cross) is fairly unusual iconographically though found on several of the ivories that I classify with this. The fact that there is no cross depicted in the Crucifixion other than two small pieces for the hands, is probably due to the scraping away of the cross at an early date, as it is properly shown in the neighboring scene of the Deposition. The Holy Woman who raises the shroud at the sepulchre is unusual as is the absence of the tree in the Noli Me Tangere.

The figure style of the ivory is distinctive in the crudeness and yet effective sharpness of the cutting, which reminds one of the slashing Embriachi technique. The tendency toward very long figures with tiny heads, as for example the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene, we have already found to be a very frequent characteristic in North Italian art and one that probably derives from the Byzantine. The verticality and the static quality of the figures as well as the lack of relation in scale between figures in the same scene, are much more typical of North Italy than of France, in the fourteenth century. All these characteristics, including the sharpness of the drapery, are to be found to some extent in that Bolognese school of illumination in the French manner

[1] I date it early in the century because it seems to me that its layout is imitating that of ivories such as many of those which Koechlin includes in his "Atelier of Soissons" and which he reasonably dates at the end of the thirteenth century.

[2] This overlapping of scenes from one plaque to the next is also occasionally found in some of the members of Koechlin's "Atelier of Soissons," for example, the separation of Church and Synagogue on a diptych in the Wallace Collection (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 35).

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

40. Diptych. Sulzbach Collection, Paris (Archives Photographiques)

41. Leaves of a diptych. Cabinet des Estampes and Cluny Museum, Paris (Koechlin)

which d'Ancona places in the late thirteenth century (Fig. 34). The formulas for rendering hair with a bang on the forehead in the miniatures are quite similar to those of the ivory, and both the miniatures and the ivory display the broad, sharply bent curl over the ear, which is in turn quite like some of the Embriachi work (see Fig. 8). On one of the miniatures is found the separation of one part of the scene from the rest by means of a semicircular frame just as on the ivory the soldiers at the tomb are separated from the rest of the scene of the Resurrection.

The use of a single leaf to represent a tree or shrub, as in the leaf to the right of the Suicide of Judas, is a Byzantine formula that we have already found on North Italian ivories though with a different sort of leaf (Figs. 17 and 30). Hats like that of the soldier in the Arrest of Christ to the extreme left of the top register are to be found in an Italo-Byzantine painting representing scenes from the life of St. Sylvester in SS. Quattro Coronati at Rome (Fig. 35) dated 1246.[1] As for the pointed turban with flat spirals worn both by a soldier in the Bearing of the Cross and by Nicodemus in the Entombment, the earliest example of this which I know in other arts is in a Bolognese miniature dating not long after 1350 [2] (Fig. 36, upper right). The only example I happen to know of exactly this sort of headdress north of the Alps is the miniature of a manuscript of Livy which cannot be dated much before 1400, given by Byvanck [3] as probably French work.

On some of the pinnacles between the gables of the Vatican ivory, particularly on those of the two lower registers, it will be noticed that crockets are rendered by faint downward and inward notches. This is a method of rendering crockets that is found on the central gable of an ivory tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 37), rightly given by the Museum as Italian, though Koechlin[4] as usual would give it as French.[5] It is manifestly unlikely that any Virgin so much in the style of Giovanni Pisano should be of French workmanship; it is therefore significant that the Vatican and Metropolitan pieces have in common the occasional elongation of figures; compare, for example, the Magdalen of the Noli Me Tangere of the Vatican ivory with the Elizabeth in the Visitation of the left outer wing of the New York tabernacle.

Very similar in style to the Vatican diptych is a diptych in the Sulzbach Collection in Paris[6] (Fig. 40). The same slashed effect with sharp, vertical drapery is here visible and the figures possess the same variation of scale within the scene, though most of them except the Magdalen, the Holy

[1] According to van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 424.

[2] According to Erbach di Fuerstenau, *La miniatura bolognese nel trecento*, *L'Arte* (1911), p. 110, Fig. 4.

[3] A. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures* (Paris, 1924), Pl. 12, p. 29.

[4] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 149.

[5] It is true that this method of rendering crockets is not entirely peculiar to Italy being occasionally found on other ivories such as the diptych at Kremsmünster (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 824).

[6] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265 *bis*.

Women at the Tomb, and the figure coming out of Hell, lack the small heads and elongated proportions. The order of reading is the same, and so are the subjects for the most part, with the addition in the Sulzbach diptych of the scene of Pilate Washing His Hands (?) and likewise of Nicodemus in the Descent from the Cross.[1] In the Holy Women at the Tomb, the sarcophagus is prolonged so that it also does duty in the Resurrection. The Noli Me Tangere here has two trees in the background, in contrast to the unusual lack of trees in the same scene on the Vatican diptych. The trees, particularly those of the Noli Me Tangere, are quite similar to those on the Metropolitan fragment of a comb (Fig. 29), which has already been given as North Italian.

A diptych that was formerly in the Antocolsky Collection in Paris[2] (Fig. 38) is in many respects similar to the Sulzbach diptych though less crude in technique.[3] This Antocolsky piece has several peculiarities in iconography one of which is the placing of the Suicide of Judas after the Crucifixion. At the right of the next lowest register of the left wing is a scene which Koechlin was unable to decipher but which is very evidently Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate to request the body of Christ. The Pilate here is very different from the figure on the upper right of the left wing which Koechlin identifies as Pilate in the Washing of the Hands. As such a scene would be out of order before the Arrest of Christ it is more probable that the figure represents a priest who is part of the Payment of Judas rather than Pilate. In the Descent from the Cross is seen the man on the ladder, a feature which comes into France only later, and then, as Mâle points out,[4] as an importation from Italy.

Another ivory that must be the product of the same atelier which produced the Vatican, Sulzbach, and Antocolsky pieces is a coffer with scenes of the Passion in the Baboin Collection in Lyon[5] (Fig. 39). This is particularly close to the Vatican ivory in the architectural framework of its cover, particularly in the unusual finials at the tops of the arches, which spread out against the top moulding. The leaves on the outside of the arches are in the form of large, flat acanthus leaves rather than the usual Gothic crockets which are found crudely rendered on the Vatican ivory. The colonnettes on the casket are so placed that the scenes deploy behind them as if inside a colonnade, and such is the arrangement on the Vatican piece also. This is rare in Gothic ivories since the colonnettes usually separate one scene from another. A striking

[1] The style and arrangement of this scene as well as the presence of Nicodemus bring to mind the very similar representation of the Descent from the Cross on many ivories of Koechlin's "Soissons" group.

[2] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265 *ter*.

[3] It also bears resemblance in its figure style to certain members of the "Soissons" atelier, notably the wing formerly in the Spitzer collection, described but not illustrated by Koechlin *op. cit.*, no. 40. The Antocolsky diptych, then, seems to form a sort of link between certain members of the "Soissons" group and the group to which the Vatican and Sulzbach diptychs belong.

[4] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge*, pp. 13, 25.

[5] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 272.

a *b*

42. Four leaves of a tabernacle. Museo Cristiano, no. 719 (Not all of rear is shown)

43. Tabernacle. Musée des Hospices Civils, Bruges (Archives Photographiques)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

identity is found in the halberd [1] borne by the soldier in the Carrying of the Cross, visible on both the Vatican and Baboin examples.

In the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris and in the Cluny are two separate wings of diptychs which Koechlin believes belonged together originally [2] (Fig. 41). At any rate they are both certainly very close to the Vatican diptych. These wings show the rose decoration which reappears on the Antocolsky diptych and which led Koechlin to place all these ivories in his "rosette" group. It displays all the stylistic characteristics of its atelier, the long figures, the tiny heads, and the distinctive hair treatment. The row of Apostles on the middle register of the left wing affords perhaps the best example in this atelier of the vertical "corrugated" drapery that we have found to be so frequent in North Italy. They also serve to demonstrate very well the straight line of the jaw and beard that also juts sideways far outward from the neck, characteristics that have been pointed out in the Embriachi ivories (page 174).

The evidence from style and from some details of iconography points, then, toward a North Italian provenance for these pieces. The iconography, except for the man on the ladder in the Descent from the Cross of the Antocolsky ivory, is not particularly un-French, but that is to be expected in ivories presumably under the influence of French models. As for the date of these ivories, it is probable that they were produced about 1325.[3]

2. IVORIES WITH CROSS-HATCHED BACKGROUNDS IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO.[4]

a. FOUR WINGS OF A TABERNACLE WITH SCENES OF THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, no. 719 (Fig. 42).

b. A PAX REPRESENTING THE CRUCIFIXION, no. 630 (Fig. 51).

c. A PLAQUE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, no. 684 (Fig. 54).

d. A PLAQUE OF CHRIST AND THE PILGRIMS TO EMMAUS, no. 638 (Fig. 55).

Ivories of this nature with cross-hatched backgrounds are the center of a particularly hot dispute as to their place of origin. Koechlin, as we have seen, claims for France nearly all of the Gothic ivories except those definitely of the type produced by the atelier of the Embriachi in Venice. He clings as long as possible to the theory that Paris was the great center of ivory cutting, though in respect to these later ivories he admits that Dalton, who gives North France or Flanders for the provenance of many of them, may possibly be

[1] A halberd of the same type as that on the Vatican ivory is illustrated in one of the frescos of the Upper Church at Assisi published by van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 479.

[2] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265.

[3] I have not attempted to discuss all the ivories of similar style that are mentioned by Koechlin, but only those which, in my estimation, offer the best evidence for an Italian provenance.

[4] One ivory with cross-hatched background, no. 757 (Fig. 31), has already been considered.

right. He refuses to admit the assignment of many disputed ivories to North Italy, where Molinier and von Schlosser have placed them because of certain features of style that seem undeniably in character with the Embriachi style. Molinier would place them in Tyrol or Piedmont, while von Schlosser believes in Reggio or the *Hinterland* of Venice.

Thus the two general centers that have been given most consistently for these ivories are North Italy and Flanders; and each side of the controversy can adduce convincing examples. I hope to offer evidence indicating that both are right and that ivories of this sort are for the most part to be attributed to Flanders and Germany as one principal center and to North Italy as the other. The North Italian examples (among which I include all the Vatican cross-hatched ivories), if not executed by Flemish workmen, were at any rate strongly influenced by the Flemish element in the "international style."

The ivories with cross-hatched backgrounds are, for the most part, tabernacles, caskets, combs, or "kisses of peace." Of the seven tabernacles cited by Koechlin,[1] I would regard only one as definitely Flemish. This is a tabernacle in the Musée des Hospices Civils at Bruges (Fig. 43) which represents scenes of the life of the Virgin. It is dated by Koechlin [2] in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the date which seems best suited to the heavy and flat ogee arches above the scenes. These architectural features are typical of late Flemish Flamboyant, and the snub-nosed, flat-faced figures with turban hair are those of Flemish art at the end of the fifteenth century.

There are many points to be noted for contrast with the other tabernacles. In the first place, the hinges are of the type with diagonal pins which are customary in Northern ivories. This tabernacle is the only one which has scenes on the backs of the wings as well as on the front, a feature much more common in Flemish folding polyptychs than in Italian. The order of reading on the front of the wings, the only part of which I have a photograph, is from top to bottom on the left side, and from bottom to top on the right. The central Virgin of this tabernacle is seated and the background behind the Virgin is decorated with a lozenge pattern which betrays the influence of Italian intarsia work. The decorative use of letters in geometric, all-over pattern is a feature common enough in the North but found little or not at all in Italy. There are several scenes represented which are not to be found on the other tabernacles of this type — the Death and Coronation of the Virgin, and on the back, the Adoration of the Instruments of the Passion by two angels, which Koechlin says is the only occurrence of this scene in the ivories. On the back also are the rare Christ among the Doctors, and Christ Appearing to St. Peter in the Grotto. The center plaque on the back is covered with black

[1] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, and one at Cremona mentioned under 950.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 946.

44. Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan
(Archives Photographiques)

45. Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan
(Archives Photographiques)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

and white checkerboard inlay. The figure style of the ivory is realistic in rendering with a technique characterized by a relief of considerable projection and rounded rather than flat.

Of the six remaining tabernacles listed by Koechlin, five seem to be very closely related to one another and I believe them to be North Italian, probably Milanese, in provenance. At the Archaeological Museum in Milan is a tabernacle [1] (Fig. 44) similar in layout to the Bruges ivory with the exception of the addition of a wing on either side necessitated by the use of an octagonal base for the Madonna. In contrast to the Bruges tabernacle there are no scenes on the backs of the wings, the entire back being covered with green and white lozenges of ivory or bone. We have already seen in regard to the Vatican ivories of Embriachi technique that the use of green and white ivory was a favorite form of decoration.[2] Furthermore, the arrangement of scenes on individual plaques set end to end in a frame is also like the Embriachi work; more so here than in the case of the Bruges ivory, the plaques of which are set in an armature with horizontal bars as well as vertical.

The Virgin in this Milan ivory is standing and the background behind her is made up of plaques assembled as in the side wings but carved with fleurs-de-lys on a cross-hatched ground. Though Koechlin mentions in reference to this ivory the fact that certain other ivories with similar background seem to be forgeries, he is forced to admit that the tabernacles with this decoration are, for the most part at least, genuine. These fleurs-de-lys, which are found on all the tabernacles that I include in my Italian group, Koechlin says may be the lilies of France carved on pieces made in France for export, or, says he, they may represent the chastity of the Virgin. But the lilies can easily be accounted for in Milan at the very end of the fifteenth century by the fact that in the last decade of that century, Louis XII of France conquered Milan and held it for fifteen years, having derived a claim to Milan from Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeozzo, who had married Louis of Orléans in 1378. It must be remembered, too, that the lilies of France had been officially conferred on Milan as early as 1394.[3] Fleur-de-lys decoration is to be found on the base of the great ivory, or rather, bone altarpiece in the Certosa of Pavia, known to have been done at the very end of the fourteenth century by Baldassarre Embriachi himself.

The wings of the Milan tabernacle are not hinged with the French or Northern diagonal slots and pins but with a new and simpler flat variety which is found on four out of five of my Italian group. Also unlike the Bruges

[1] Published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 947, and like all the rest of my Italian group, given by him as French. He rightly mentions that the canopy over the Virgin has been reversed.

[2] This combination of green and white is mentioned by von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 238, as the favorite color combination of the Embriachi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

tabernacle is the fact that the scenes on the wings in this group invariably read from top to bottom. On the Milan ivory in place of the heavy ogee arches, round arches are used, though two of my Italian group do have ogee arches. There are more scenes on the tabernacle in Milan than on that at Bruges, and the extra scenes are devoted mainly to the story of Anna and Joachim. One of the new scenes shows the Virgin spinning in the temple, a representation that occurs on all but one of the tabernacles which seem to be North Italian.

The technique of cutting is much cruder and more summary than on the Bruges example. The relief is flatter and the rendering is reduced to formulas as much as possible. The standing Madonna, though quite Flemish in facial type, is very Italian as to drapery, particularly in respect to the smoothness of rendering over the shoulders and the sharp break as the skirt hits the ground, so different from the heavier but smoother flow of the Flemish drapery.

Very similar to the tabernacle just discussed is another tabernacle that was presented to the same museum in Milan as early as 1875 (Fig. 45). This differs from the other only in such small details as five registers instead of four [1] and in the possession of an intarsia cone on the central canopy which Koechlin believes is modern. The hinges are of a different type from those on the other tabernacle in the same museum (Fig. 44), but nevertheless they do not have the Northern diagonal pins that are found on the Bruges tabernacle.

Very similar to the two tabernacles in Milan are the four wings from a tabernacle in the Museo Cristiano, no. 719 [2] (Fig. 42), of which the style, the order of reading, the architectural decoration are all like those of the Milan pieces.[3] Traces of hinges show that it was hinged like the first tabernacle at Milan (Fig. 44) and like this piece the Vatican wings employ the green and white lozenge inlay on the back. The various formulas for hair and trees which are found throughout the tabernacles seem to be part of an international style which can be found in examples of other arts in Italy as well as elsewhere.

In the treasure of Monza Cathedral is a tabernacle that is of the same flat-relief technique as the ivories of my Italian group already discussed (Fig. 46). It is also similar to them in the method of hinging, in the wings made up of

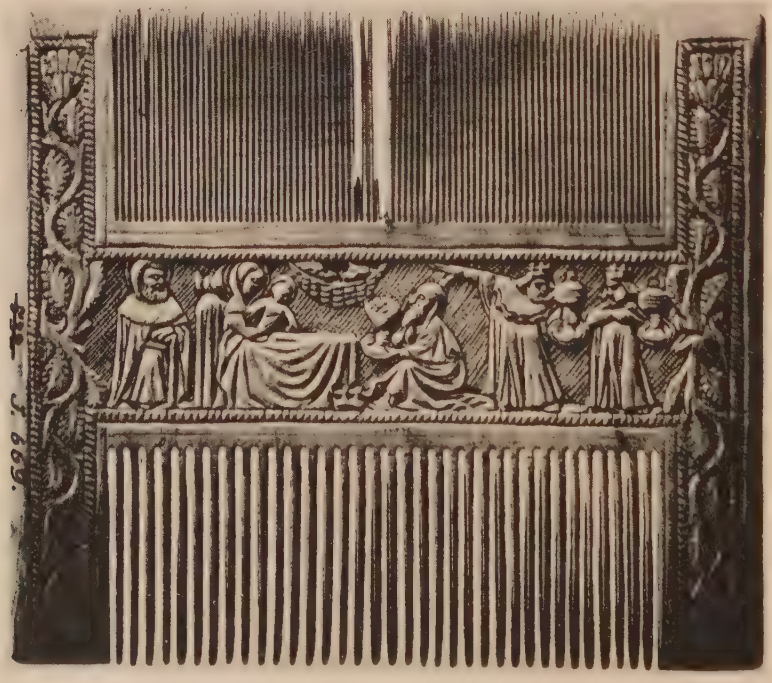
[1] Among the new scenes resulting from the use of an extra register is one which represents the Virgin being fed in the Temple by an angel. Another shows the Virgin after her betrothal, followed by an old man and approaching a house. This subject, which is a very rare one for ivories, represents to Koechlin the Virgin after her marriage approaching the house of Joseph, a subject which he says is to be found on the tapestries of Beaune. The old man with the Virgin in the scene as depicted on the ivory does not seem to be Joseph, however, for the figure wears a headdress of some sort and is not represented bald, as is St. Joseph in every other representation of him on the ivory. Possibly the scene represented is the same one as in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel at Padua, which, van Marle has pointed out (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 62), probably does not represent the Virgin entering the house of Joseph, but rather the Virgin returning to the house of her parents in accordance with the Golden Legend.

[2] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22, no. 1 (82), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 951.

[3] In iconography a new feature is the combination of the scene of the Virgin Spinning in the Temple and the scene which represents an angel bringing food to her, into a single representation.

46. Tabernacle. Cathedral, Monza (Barbier de Montault, *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1902, p. 225)

47. Tabernacle. Grand Duke of Baden Collection, Karlsruhe (Rosenberg, *Exposition de Carlsruhe*, 1881)



48. Comb. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)

plaques assembled end to end, in the scenes represented, and in the use of lilies on the center background. It differs only in its architecture — in the employment of heavy ogee arches which are quite like those of the Bruges tabernacle but whose occurrence in Milan is not unduly surprising, witness their free use on the Cathedral. Koechlin mentions that in the Museum of Cremona there is a tabernacle analogous to that at Monza.

In the collection of the Grand Duke of Baden at Karlsruhe is a tabernacle (Fig. 47) which seems to form a transition between the Flemish group, as represented by the Bruges tabernacle, and the Italian group. In technique its relief is neither so flat as that of the Milanese ivories nor so roundly projecting as that of the Bruges piece. The type of hinging is the same as that of the majority of the Italian pieces and the order of reading is the same, but the lilies of the central background are lacking.

The present location of Gothic ivories is of minor importance in determining the place of origin save when it supports other evidence from style, technique, or iconography. But it is worth while noting that all of my Italian group are at present in Italy and, with the exception of the Vatican piece, all of them are at present in Milanese territory. Two are at Milan itself, one is at Monza, and a fourth is located at Cremona. On the other hand, the tabernacle of Bruges, which is so definitely Flemish in style, is, of course, at present in Flanders; while the tabernacle of Karlsruhe, combining as it does the characteristics of both groups, is geographically located half way between the two main centers.

Among the objects such as combs, coffers, and "kisses of peace" which cannot be separated from the ateliers that produced the tabernacles just discussed, there are several which offer evidence that they were carved in Italy. For example, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is a comb [1] (Fig. 48) representing on one side the Adoration of the Magi and on the other the Annunciation. This comb was purchased in Italy. Though the faces conform to the international Flemish types, certain bits of the drapery handling, such as that on the head of the Virgin's bed, have the vertical corrugated folds so frequently found already on definitely Italian work. The type of rinceau on the ends of the comb, variations of which were doubtless used all over Europe at this time, can be very well paralleled in Italian arts and crafts on pottery and other objects.[2]

Vöge, in his catalogue of the ivories in the Kaiser Friedrich, gives this piece as North Italian. Molinier, in his catalogue of the ivories in the Louvre, calls

[1] Published by Vöge, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38, no. 151, and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1156.

[2] Compare the border of the circular dish of *sgraffiato* ware illustrated in the Catalogue of the Wallace Collection (Furniture, Marbles, etc.), 1910, Pl. 11, opposite p. 43. A Milanese example of the same rinceau is to be found in Malaguzzi-Valeri, *La corte di Ludovico il Moro* (Milan, 1913), vol. I, p. 368.

a similar piece North Italian work.[1] Finally, the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi with the Virgin represented on a bed is distinctly not French.[2] In reference to a similar representation of this scene on certain openwork ivories (cf. Fig. 56), Koechlin is puzzled by this iconography which he says is English, though he believes it was imitated in France.[3] It is indeed found on English alabasters and embroidery, but it occurs most frequently in Germany. Kehrer [4] makes a separate group of this type for which there are many German examples. Except for a Burgundian example palpably under Flemish influence, he cites no examples as truly French save an ivory formerly in the Oppenheim Collection in Cologne and now in the Metropolitan Museum. For this ivory I shall later give further evidence of a German origin (Fig. 56).

Kehrer also points out, rather too dubiously, the possible derivation of this type of Adoration from that which he calls the "Syrian-Byzantine Collective Type," in which the Adoration scene is combined with the Nativity so that the Virgin is reclining as she receives the Adoration. This compound type of the Nativity is frequent in Italy.[5] In Milan, the German type of Epiphany seems to have been sometimes used as in a miniature of the Ambrosiana at Milan.[6] Thus the iconography as represented on the Berlin comb seems to be most popular in Germany though occasionally used in North Italy through German influence.

There are several coffers, too, that cannot be separated from the Italian tabernacles and which in turn offer distinct evidence for an Italian provenance. One of these is in the Museo Civico at Turin [7] (Fig. 49). Not only does this have the cross-hatched background, but it also uses the same technique as the Milanese tabernacles in the employment of several small plaques juxtaposed within a frame. The cover of this particular coffer shows animals and hunting scenes of which the formulas for rendering trees and hair are the same as on the tabernacles. The representation of grass in clumps by scratch lines is a mannerism frequently met with in North Italy. Hunting scenes were a favorite subject in Lombard illumination of the fifteenth century,[8] and excellent parallels for the animal scenes and technique of this coffer cover are to be found in a sketchbook at Venice (Fig. 50), which has been called by

[1] E. Molinier, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des ivoires* (Paris, 1906), no. 130.

[2] The only French example I happen to know that shows the Virgin on the bed in the Adoration of the Magi, is a twelfth-century relief on St. Pierre, Moissac.

[3] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 862. The fact that 862 bears an inscription in French does not prevent a North Italian provenance as French was the court language at Milan and was largely used in Piedmont also at this time.

[4] H. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 81 ff., and van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 541; vol. III, p. 187; vol. IV, p. 290.

[6] This manuscript, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS. L. 58 sup., has been given as Milanese by Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan, 1912), p. 205, Fig. 152.

[7] Given by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 1323, as French.

[8] See Toesca, *op. cit.*, pp. 407 ff.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

49. Coffer. Museo Civico, Turin
(Archives Photographiques)

50. Drawing from a fifteenth century Lombard sketchbook. Accademia, Venice
(van Marle)

51. Pax. Museo Cristiano, no. 630

52. Pax. British Museum, no. 324 (Dalton)

van Marle [1] Lombard work of the beginning of the fifteenth century. This shows similar animals and similar rendering of grass.

Among the ivories in the Vatican which are similar in technique to the Italian tabernacles is a pax, no. 630 [2] (Fig. 51) representing the Crucifixion. The "kisses of peace," like the tabernacles, show evidence of either Flemish,[3] or North Italian provenance, without a great deal of difference between them save in the greater flatness of relief of the North Italian examples. The flatness of the Vatican pax appears North Italian rather than Flemish. In the British Museum is a pax of the same subject (Fig. 52) which, though given by Dalton [4] as Flemish, seems to me to be likewise North Italian, not only in its flatness but in its combination of a fifteenth-century figure style with a type of architecture that in France or Flanders would bespeak the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Christ is quite similar to that on the Vatican pax, particularly in such details as the extremely foreshortened feet and in the rendering of eyes by a projecting triangle to indicate the upper eyelid.

In the Museo Civico in Turin is a pax representing the Madonna and Child[5] (Fig. 53) which has an architectural decoration of foliated cusps on the arch similar to that of the Vatican Crucifixion. Though the relief is somewhat higher on the Turin ivory, the throne of the Madonna is of a proto-Renaissance type and quite Italian. The Madonna herself recalls those of the tabernacles in style.

Very similar to the Virgins of the Turin pax and of one of the Milanese tabernacles (Fig. 44) is a plaque in the Museo Cristiano, no. 684 [6] (Fig. 54), representing, in three-quarter length, St. Catherine of Alexandria. Because of its stylistic resemblances to these other ivories I include the St. Catherine here even though it lacks the cross-hatching in the background. It possesses the same facial type with domical forehead, swollen cheek, and puffy eyelids that is found on the other two ivories. The cloak and the crown of St. Catherine are like those worn by the Virgin of the Turin pax, and the smooth wooden quality of the torso recalls the Madonna of the tabernacle. The use of a crescent moon, customarily reserved for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, may have appeared to the artist the simplest method of ending a three-quarter figure.

[1] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 113–117.

[2] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 8(43), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 901. Koechlin gives it as French.

[3] A pax that is probably North French in the Flemish style is that in the Louvre (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 932, Pl. 161), representing the Virgin between two saints, with the name at the bottom, *Hanry Lerdenoi*. This pax came to the Louvre from the church of Saponay, Aisne, and while of the same general international style as the "kisses of peace" which I give as North Italian, is differentiated by the greater projection of the relief, by the greater feeling for the mass of the bodies, and by the smoother flow of the drapery.

[4] Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 324, Pl. 73.

[5] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 921.

[6] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 9(44).

The last ivory in the Vatican with a cross-hatched background is a plaque, no. 638 [1] (Fig. 55), representing Christ and the Pilgrims to Emmaus. This plaque was probably part of either a tabernacle or a casket. The heavy ogee arches are like both those on the Bruges tabernacle (Fig. 43) and those on the tabernacle at Monza (Fig. 46). The tracery decorations in the spandrels, however, seem a misunderstood imitation of the sort of ornament found in the spandrels of the Bruges tabernacle. The low relief and the heavy corrugation of the folds of drapery on the first apostle offer strong evidence for an Italian provenance. Like most of the other ivories with cross-hatched background, this plaque probably dates in the late fifteenth century.

3. OPENWORK PLAQUES FROM A COFFER WITH SCENES OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST, nos. 618 and 636 (Fig. 58).

The openwork plaques in the Museo Cristiano, nos. 618 A and B, and 636 A, B, and C [2] (Fig. 58), all probably come from the same coffer though done apparently by two different hands. Some of the plaques are missing and those that do remain seem to have been the two sides (618 A and B, and 636 A and B) and one end (636 C) of a casket, the plaques of which were once probably backed with cloth. Though the indented dots on the dividing bars may have been marks to aid in assembling the casket, I have been unable to work out any scheme of reconstruction by means of them.

A large number of openwork ivories have survived and though they display several different styles, there are certain features of iconography common to most of them that would seem to indicate one general center of production for the majority. Koechlin feels that the common features are English. He gives a few of the ivories as actually English and for the rest he is somewhat uncertain, but is inclined to think them French under English influence. The ivories in the British Museum which belong to this group are given by Dalton as North French or Flemish. With these openwork ivories must be included many non-openwork pieces of various sorts which display the same styles.

Of the two openwork ivories which Koechlin definitely gives as English, one is in the Metropolitan (Fig. 56) and the other is in the British Museum.[3] Both of them are diptychs with scenes of the life of Christ and of the Virgin.[4] The features on which Koechlin bases his attribution to England are archi-

[1] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 11(46).

[2] Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 19, nos. 3(70), 4(71), 5(72), 6(73), 7(74), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 167.

[3] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 875, 876; vol. I, pp. 326–327.

[4] Not to be separated from these two ivories is a coffer with profane subjects of which fragments are in various museums — the Victoria and Albert, the Metropolitan, and the National Museum at Florence. It is published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1280.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

53. Pax. Museo Civico, Turin (Koechlin)

54. Plaque representing St. Catherine. Museo Cristiano, no. 684

55. Plaque of the Pilgrims to Emmaus. Museo Cristiano, no. 638

56. Openwork diptych. Metropolitan Museum (Longhurst)

tectural or iconographic. The architectural features which seem to him English are the ogee arch and the decorative crenellation, the latter of which, as he rightly points out, is extremely rare in France. Some of the openwork ivories display a third feature which he says is due to English influence, the use of the twisted column. The main iconographic characteristic that Koechlin considers to be English is the representation of the Virgin on a bed in the Adoration of the Magi.[1]

All these features in these particular ivories are, to my mind, either German or North Italian under very strong German influence. Miss Longhurst, in her discussion of the pieces,[2] gives them as English but mentions that F. E. Howard has pointed out certain German characteristics in the architecture. The elaborate Flamboyant architecture is indeed typical of German and Germano-Italian work of the fifteenth century, such as Milan Cathedral in which ogee arches are plentiful. The twisted and ribboned column is to be found more often in Italy than anywhere else, and as for the decorative crenellation, it is not limited to England by any means, but is frequently found in German and Italian metalwork of the late Gothic period. A good Italian example of architectural forms similar to those of the ivories and of the use of the decorative battlement is the *ostensorio* from Voghera, now in the Museo Communale at Milan and dated 1406 [3] (Fig. 57). On the other hand, the ogee arches are not typical of English Gothic architecture of any date in the fifteenth century to which these ivories could be assigned. The period of the greatest use of the ogee arch in England was the so-called Decorated Period, and after 1377 (the date given by Bannister-Fletcher for the beginning of the Rectilinear style), the four-center arch tended to supplant the ogee arch. Though comparatively isolated examples of the ogee arch are found throughout the Rectilinear style, there is nothing rectilinear about the architecture of these ivories. The iconography is in many respects in agreement with that of ivories which we have already given as Italian. As for the iconographic representation of the Virgin on the bed in the Adoration of the Magi, we have already mentioned in relation to the comb in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 48), which has other evidences for an Italian provenance, that this iconography is most frequently found in Germany and sometimes in Milanese work as well as in England. The diptych of the Metropolitan Museum

[1] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 325.

[2] Miss M. Longhurst, *English Ivories* (London, 1926), p. 56. She illustrates them on pages 163 and 164 with the titles transposed.

[3] Malaguzzi-Valeri, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 277.

For other Italian examples of the decorative crenellation see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. IV–B, Figs. 758, 768, 769. The last of these also shows the twisted column. German examples of the crenellations are to be found in G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), vol. II, p. 145, and in H. Lüer, *Geschichte der Metallkunst* (Stuttgart, 1904), vol. I, pp. 360, 368. They are found also on an ivory in Münster, given as German by Koechlin (*op. cit.*, Pl. 204, no. 1243A, discussed in vol. I, p. 454).

(Fig. 56) in its representation of the Bearing of the Cross, shows a figure carrying the nails.[1] In the Coronation of the Virgin, it will be noticed that Christ holds a globe surmounted by a cross. The presence of this object in the Coronation is rare in Italy and France but is frequent in German and Austrian representations of the scene.[2] The frequency of its use in Germany may be due to the fact that the globe surmounted by a cross, long a Christian symbol, was particularly significant in Germany and Austria as one of the symbols, the *Reichsapfel*, borne by the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire.

In view of these peculiarities, the Metropolitan and British Museum diptychs would seem to me to be South German or Germano-Italian in origin. The Vatican plaques (Fig. 58) and ivories related to them have many of the iconographic features found on the two diptychs and I believe them to be more definitely North Italian but still under strong German influence. The technique of the openwork coffer of which the Vatican plaques were a part recalls that of the Embriachi work in the assembling of several plaques within a frame, as does the flatness and sharpness of the cutting, particularly apparent in the Christ of the Harrowing of Hell. In the architectural frame, the indication of cuspings in the arcading between the gables so that each little arch contains a hole drilled beneath to give the effect of cusps without completely cutting them is a mannerism that seems to be German and Italian. The fleurons of the gables, which spread out broadly against the mouldings above, are of a sort that we have found on other ivories given as Italian in this article (Fig. 39).

In the figure style, the rectilinear jaw, with its jutting angle, again recalls the Embriachi ivories. As for the costumes, the wadded jerkins on some of the soldiers, which Dalton in relation to a similar ivory in the British Museum [3] (Fig. 60) compares to costumes in the Bedford Hours, are of a sort that are to be found in examples from all over Europe.[4] The bulging chests of the figures, exemplified particularly well by the Adam in the Harrowing of Hell, also seems to have been an international fashion but particularly frequent in Milanese painting.[5]

In iconography, we have the scene of the Nailing to the Cross which, ac-

[1] This feature of the nails is also found on an openwork ivory, parts of which are in several collections, published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 858. The same ivory shows the rare scene of Pilate Washing His Hands. The nails and the Pilate scene (?) are both found on a diptych in the Sulzbach Collection (Fig. 40) which I have already given as Italian.

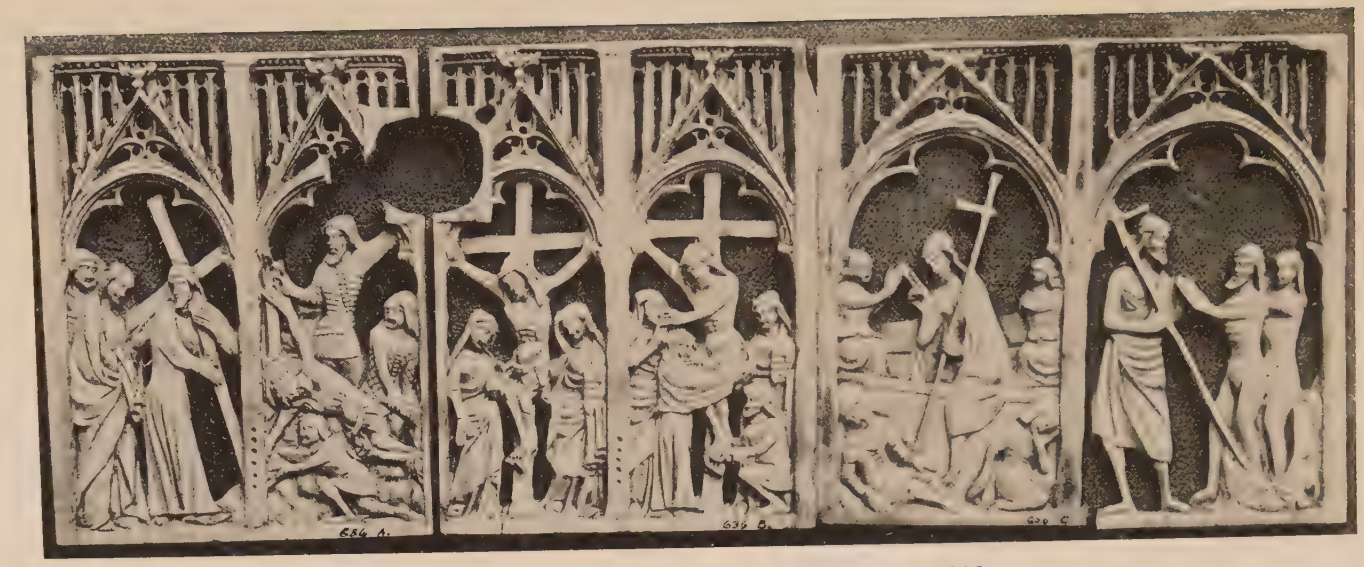
[2] For German examples see W. Pinder, *Die deutsche Plastik des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924), Pl. 80, and S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland* (Freiburg, 1909), p. 654, Fig. 287. A Milanese example is published in Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

[3] Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 314.

[4] Italian examples are to be found in P. d'Ancona, *La miniature italienne*, (Brussels, 1925), Pls. 22 and 29.

[5] The bulging chests are found most often in the Milanese painting of the late *Trecento*. Good examples are the frescos in the oratories of Mocchirolo and Lentate (see Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 252, Fig. 189; p. 255, Fig. 191).

57. *Ostensorio* from Voghera. Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan (Malaguzzi Valeri)



58*a*. Openwork plaques. Museo Cristiano, no. 636

59. Detail from ms. E. I. 8, National Library, Turin (d'Ancona)

58*b*. Openwork plaques. Museo Christiano, no. 618

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

cording to Mâle,[1] came into France from Italy in the late Gothic period. It is much more frequently found in Italy than in France. As for the Coronation of the Virgin, it will be noticed that the Christ holds the globe surmounted by a cross, which, as we have seen, may represent the Holy Roman *Reichsapfel.*

A peculiarity of the atelier which produced these plaques is the rendering of the muscles of the belly by means of a square divided into four parts as on the Christ of the Crucifixion. This is a formula that is probably derived from Italo-Byzantine painting [2] examples of which are also to be found in Italian Gothic illumination (Fig. 59) and metal work.[3]

The other openwork ivories which are closest in style to the plaques in the Vatican also give evidence for an Italian provenance. The first of these is a plaque in the British Museum [4] (Fig. 60) which originally was also probably a part of a coffer. The style of this is quite like that of the Vatican plaques, particularly of parts 618 A and B. The figures of the British Museum ivory are, however, somewhat less static. An iconographic feature to be noted here is the blindfolded Christ mocked by two soldiers. This type of the Mocking of Christ with a narrow band for the blindfold is rare in France and Germany [5] but very frequent indeed in Italian late Gothic painting and illumination of the fifteenth century. An example from illumination (Fig. 61) is called by d'Ancona [6] Ferrarese work and is attributed by him to Martino da Modena, who died in 1489.

There is another ivory of similar figure style that is also in the British Museum [7] (Fig. 62). This originally was probably set in a frame to form the leaf of a diptych. Here we see in the Adoration of the Magi the Virgin lying on a bed, that favorite representation in Germany occasionally used in Italy which we have found on the comb in Berlin (Fig. 48) and on the openwork ivory in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 56).

A third openwork plaque in the British Museum [8] (Fig. 63) is somewhat of the same figure style though it is not so close to the Vatican plaques as are

[1] Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[2] The four-part belly is, however, considerably less stylized in Italo-Byzantine painting than it is here. For example see the Crucifixion in Aquileia Cathedral reproduced by L. Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 26.

[3] The illustration from illumination is taken from d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10. He dates it in the thirteenth century. A fifteenth-century example, not sharp enough for reproduction, is seen on the crucified Christ, Pl. 64 of the same book. An example of the four-part belly in metal work is to be found in Malaguzzi-Valeri, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 346, displayed on the enthroned figure at the right of the illustration.

[4] Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 314. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 866. Dalton and Koechlin give this and the two following plaques in the British Museum as North French or Flemish.

[5] On Northern ivories, the blindfold is usually a cloth wrapped around the entire head, for example see Koechlin *op. cit.*, no. 240, Pl. 63.

[6] D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and Pl. 64. Another example is to be found in the same volume, Pl. 77.

[7] Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 313. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 864. Given by Dalton as North French or Flemish and by Koechlin as North French.

[8] Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 315. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 873. Given by Dalton as North French or Flemish and by Koechlin as North French.

the two others in the same Museum. The scene of the Agony in the Garden on this ivory has an iconographic peculiarity in the rare use of the chalice which here stands before Christ.[1] In the representation of the same scene on the twelfth-century doors at Spalato, Christ is shown holding the chalice. There are fourteenth-century Italian paintings and an engraving by Dürer in which an angel in the sky bears a chalice,[2] but I have found no example of the scene in French art in which the chalice appears at all. An exact parallel in which the chalice is placed on the ground before Christ as on the ivory, is offered by a representation of the scene in an Austrian painting of about 1400[3] (Fig. 65), and I have found several other examples in German art. This ivory also seems to be Italian under very strong German influence. Some of the costumes on the British Museum ivory, such as those on the Flagellants, are like those that we have already found on Italian combs and mirrors dating about 1400 (see Figs. 25 and 26). In the Bearing of the Cross, a soldier holds the nails, a feature that we have seen on ivories that I have given as North Italian (Figs. 33, 40, 56). The Descent from the Cross has the detail of the man on the ladder which, according to Mâle, came into France from Italy in the fifteenth century.[4]

Of all the openwork ivories, the closest in style to that in the Museo Cristiano, with the possible exception of the ivories in the British Museum (Figs. 60 and 62), is an openwork coffer in the Gibbs Collection in Tyntesfield, Somerset [5] (Fig. 64), known to have been in England since 1793. The technique is very close to that of the plaques in the Vatican and British Museum, though apparently somewhat later in date. Koechlin dates the piece in the late fourteenth century and mentions that it is similar in style to one of the ivories

[1] Some openwork plaques in the Cluny Museum (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 874) are of identical workmanship with this British Museum ivory and here again the Christ in the Garden has a chalice on the ground before him. On these plaques, too, the Virgin is represented on a bed in the Adoration of the Magi, a feature that we have seen on other ivories in this group.

[2] For an example in fourteenth-century Italian painting see van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 443. The Dürer engraving is published in *Klassiker der Kunst, IV, Dürer*, p. 135.

[3] Illustrated in F. Kieslinger, *Gotische Glasmalerei in Österreich bis 1450*, Pl. 13, Fig. 2. For other examples that are German or under strong German influence, see: W. Vöge, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, vol. IV, *Die deutsche Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1910), Pl. 30, no. 922; *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, vol. XXVI, Heft 4, Pl. 14; H. Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1913), p. 55.

[4] E. Mâle, *L'art rel. de la fin du moyen-âge*, p. 25. This has also been found on the diptych formerly in the Antocolsky collection (Fig. 38). Most of these iconographical peculiarities are to be found on various members of another group of openwork ivories which I believe also to be North Italian in provenance, probably Milanese because of their strong evidence of German influence. Among the important members of this group are the ivories given by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, nos. 857, 858, 860, 861, and probably 859. Another one, not mentioned by Koechlin, is a diptych in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 17.190. 269, representing the Crucifixion and the Lamentation. The Lamentation is yet another Byzantine scene that was transmitted to the North *via* Italy, and that is more frequent in Italy than north of the Alps (Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.).

[5] Published in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *op. cit.*, 1923, no. 141. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1310 *bis*, gives it as French.

60. Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 314 (Dalton)

61. Detail from an illuminated missal. Trivulzio Library, Milan, ms. 2165, (d'Ancona)

62. Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 313 (Dalton)

63. Openwork plaque. British Museum, no. 315 (Dalton)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
LIBRARY

in the British Museum, no. 313 (Fig. 62). The same snub-nosed facial types and the same sort of figures with bulging chests are found also on the Vatican plaques (Fig. 58) and on the plaque in the British Museum, no. 314 (Fig. 60). The costumes of many of the male figures of the Gibbs casket, with their jerkins belted low on the hips and with a row of buttons down the front, are much the same as that on the soldier asleep at the tomb in the Resurrection of the Vatican piece. The lumpy rendering of ground that appears on the Gibbs ivory is the same as in the representation of the Nailing to the Cross of the ivory in the Museo Cristiano.

When the casket was exhibited by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1923, it was called French work of the late fourteenth century, the same attribution given the piece by Koechlin. I believe it to be North Italian work of almost the middle of the fifteenth century and a trifle later in date than the Vatican plaques and those of similar style in the British Museum. The subject depicted is the story of Matabruna, also known as the story of the Knight of the Swan. Koechlin mentions that there is an Embriachi fragment in the British Museum with the same subject, but he fails to note that von Schlosser, in his article on the Embriachi, lists no less than six Embriachi caskets with this subject. In other words, of the seven ivories representing the story of Matabruna known to me, six are definitely North Italian, which would make it likely that the seventh is also.[1]

Closer to the Vatican plaques than any of the openwork pieces, are several ivories not in *ajouré* technique, mostly mirror cases. One of these is a mirror depicting the Crucifixion now in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow [2] (Fig. 66), the central figures of which are very close to the corresponding figures of the same scene on the Vatican plaques. Here again is the atelier peculiarity of the "quadripartite" belly. Another atelier characteristic peculiar to the mirrors of the group is the use of an "antefixa" ornament on the point of each of the cusps around the central scene. A mirror in the British Museum [3]

[1] In other arts it is true that the subject of Matabruna is occasionally found outside of Italy. Nevertheless, though the story very possibly originated in Northern Europe, its representation in Northern art is comparatively rare. On the other hand, the subject was evidently a favorite one in Italy, as van Marle (*op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 44) mentions its frequent occurrence on Italian *cassoni* of the fifteenth century.

This is borne out by the figure style which, like that of the Vatican plaques, shows the jutting jaws and beards so like Embriachi work. There is a static quality about the figures on the casket, a lack of ability on the part of the craftsman to represent movement, which further recalls the work of the Embriachi. The bulging-chested figures and also the costumes of jerkins with belts placed low about the hips we have found to be frequent in North Italian work. The usual Embriachesque angularity and flatness of cutting are less noticeable on the Gibbs casket than on the plaques of the Museo Cristiano, but appear to a certain extent in the profiling of the legs of the male figures, while the drapery, particularly the heavy cloak of the king shown on the cover, displays the flatness of surface so like that of the Embriachi work.

[2] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1116 *bis*. Of the same style as this is a double-faced plaque in the British Museum (Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 352; it is mentioned by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, under no. 497).

[3] Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 90, no. 384; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1115. Koechlin rightly compares the style of the Gibbs casket to this.

(Fig. 67) representing some romantic subject shows the same sort of ornament. Though the style of this mirror is not so close to the Vatican plaques as is that of the Cracow mirror, it clearly displays the corrugated Italian drapery. Very similar in style to this is a third mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna [1] (Fig. 68) which has an arrangement of scenes enclosed in circles unlike any other mirror case that I know. Here the Embriachesque effect is stronger in the verticality of the drapery folds, in the angularity of the cutting of the outlines, and again in the tightly fitting jerkins with belts worn low.

There are many other ivories of the same general style but lack of space prevents their consideration here. The style of all of them offers the same evidence for a North Italian provenance as has been found in the members of the group that have been discussed. The iconography of this group is, as we have seen, that of the fifteenth century, and a date early in that century in Italy is in best agreement with the details of costume.

4. AN UNFINISHED RELIEF OF A MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS BENEATH CANOPIES, no. 602.

The unfinished ivory, no. 602 [2] (Fig. 69), which represents the Virgin and Child with two saints on either side beneath canopies, appears stylistically to be a result of the spread of the Burgundian style over Europe. It displays little of the Embriachesque, North Italian character, and but for the fact that it can be proved iconographically to be an Italian ivory, one would perhaps give it as of Burgundian workmanship. The saints on the left side of the plaque are Paul and Petronius, and on the right, Michael and Peter. St. Paul is identified by his sword and book, St. Peter by his keys, and St. Michael by the scales which he holds and by the dragon which he tramples under foot.

The St. Petronius is the figure that definitely determines the provenance of the ivory, however, for he is the patron saint of Bologna and is identified by his bishop's costume and by the model of the town which he holds in his hand. Though there are several other bishops depicted with the model of a town, the one that St. Petronius carries is distinctive in its representation of the two towers of Bologna, the Garisenda and the Asinelli. On the altar of the church of San Francesco at Bologna, the work of the Masegne brothers, who were Venetian sculptors of the end of the fourteenth century, St. Petronius is thus represented [3] (Fig. 70). The similarity between the towers of the city held by this St. Petronius and those of the model carried by the bishop of the Vatican ivory is evident, the only difference being that on the ivory they are

[1] Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1113.

[2] Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 20, no. 4(78).

[3] The figure on the altar has been identified as St. Petronius by Planiscig, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

64. Cover from an openwork casket. Gibbs Collection, Tyntesfield, England (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)

65. Austrian painting, about 1400 (Kieslinger)

66. Mirror case. Czartoryski Museum, Cracow (Koechlin)

67. Mirror case. British Museum, no. 384 (Dalton)

68. Mirror case. Museo Civico, Bologna (Koechlin)

reversed in position. In other words, the ivory-cutter has represented a view of the city taken from the side opposite to that shown by the Masegne, which accounts for the absence of the city gate on the ivory model.

There is further evidence for an Italian provenance to support the iconographic attribution. In the first place, the use of Sts. Peter and Paul flanking the Virgin is rare in France, frequent in Italy. The ornament on the throne of the Virgin seems to be a rendering of Cosmatesque work. The angels supporting the crown over the Virgin are smaller in scale than those on the French ivories and they fly with a verve and swirl foreign to the French representations of them. The figure style of the St. Petronius, in contrast to the other figures, is particularly that of Northern Italy in its static quality, its proportions of tiny head and long, vertical body, and particularly in the drapery rendering that is smooth over the upper part of the body and falls in long, corrugated folds of the skirt to break in a sharp even line as it hits the ground.

The rest of the figures, on the other hand, are much more Franco-Flemish in style. Their squatness, their large heads, the drapery cascade down the front as well as the realistic representation of old age in Peter and Paul, are Burgundian rather than Italian. We have already seen in relation to late thirteenth-century illumination (see page 185) that Bologna, probably because of its great cosmopolitan university, was particularly open to Transalpine influences. Yet in other parts of Italy examples of style that is very Flemish in character sometimes appeared during the late Gothic. For example, a German sculptor, Piero di Giovanni Tedesco, worked on the Porta della Mandorla of Florence Cathedral from 1391 to 1397,[1] the same portal for which Donatello did two prophet statues between 1406 and 1408, surprisingly Flemish in style though with a certain refinement of feeling that is distinctly native.[2] On the Vatican ivory, too, there is a certain general refinement that would be inconsistent in the work of a Burgundian working in Burgundy. The fact that all the figures except the Petronius are quite Franco-Flemish can best be explained on the assumption of a follower of Northern style working in Bologna. For the Madonna, and for Peter, Paul, and Michael, he followed Northern formulas. The figure of Petronius, the local saint, would naturally impose the following of a Bolognese model with the peculiar result of an Italian stamp upon this figure, which gives it its marked contrast to the rest.

As for the date of the ivory, the *Quattrocento* is indicated by its general appearance. The unfinished canopy over the Virgin was to have been completed in the late Gothic style and hence in Italy the ivory must be earlier

[1] H. Kauffmann, "Florentiner Domplastik (zweiter Teil)," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1926, vol. XLVII, pp. 216 ff.

[2] The date for these statues is taken from M. Cruttwell, *Donatello* (London, 1911), p. 22.

than 1500,[1] yet the individualization and realism of the faces is so great, and the premonition of the High Renaissance so visible in the figure of Petronius, that an early date in the fifteenth century is unlikely.

With this Bolognese ivory is completed the consideration of those Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano which offer the strongest evidence for a North Italian provenance. Basing the attribution to Italy on ivories that are definitely North Italian, particularly those produced by the atelier of the Embriachi, I have attempted to point out certain stylistic characteristics that seem to me peculiar to the art of that particular region. It might be well to end this article with a final brief summary of the most important of these characteristics.

The most obvious North Italian feature is the verticality and the static quality of the long thin figures with their tiny heads. This verticality of the figures is generally further accented by vertical folds of corrugated drapery that breaks sharply in an even line whenever it strikes the ground and that contrasts sharply with the flowing drapery of Northern Gothic. The small heads of the figures almost invariably display a sharp, straight cutting of the edge of the jaw and beard which gives to the heads the appearance of jutting out far over the neck. As to technique, the cutting of the ivories is generally very angular and thus very different from the suaver lines of Northern work. The relief is much flatter than in the North and the edges are marked by distinct outlines. The method of hinging the wings of the ivory polyptychs almost always differs from that of Transalpine work in the employment of wire loops instead of a flange, diagonally inserted and fixed with diagonal pins. All these technical points are supported iconographically by the presence of many scenes and elements which Mâle has cited as entering France from Byzantine iconography *via* Italy. But whereas this iconography entered France only at the end of the Gothic period, it existed in Italy throughout the Gothic centuries.

On the basis of these characteristics it seems to me that there is excellent reason for believing that a considerable number of Gothic ivories, many of them distinctly imitating the French manner, originated in Italy. In a later article the remainder of the Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano will be considered and in that article I hope, among other things, to isolate certain characteristics of Gothic ivory cutting which are caused by a German origin. In a later article will also be considered the Renaissance ivories in the Museo Cristiano.

[1] E. Begni, *The Vatican, Its History, Its Treasures* (New York, 1914), p. 417, dates this ivory in the sixteenth century — to my mind too late a date.

69. Unfinished relief representing the Madonna and Four Saints. Museo Cristiano, no. 602

70. Detail showing St. Petronius from the altar of San Francesco, Bologna. (Planiscig)

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

A scientific quarterly which for forty-five years has fostered the study of antique culture. It contains articles on art and archaeology contributed chiefly by scholars in the United States, archaeological news and discussions, bibliography and book reviews — a comprehensive content designed both to interpret and appreciate antique monuments, and to inform the specialist as well as the general reader of the latest discoveries at ancient sites, and of recent archaeological studies both in periodicals and books.

The annual subscription is $6.00. Subscriptions will be received by

Professor ROLLIN H. TANNER

New York University University Heights

NEW YORK CITY

THE ART NEWS

(FOUNDED 1902)

The art news of the world—from museums, collectors, galleries and auctions is presented weekly in crisp, unbiased reports. Important works of art of unusual current interest are illustrated.

THE 1929 ANNUAL DE LUXE SUPPLEMENT

IS NOW AVAILABLE

250 INTERESTING PAGES
19 REPRODUCTIONS IN FULL COLOR
8 SIMILATONE PROCESS REPRODUCTIONS
AND 300 BLACK AND WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS

The SUPPLEMENT will be sold at $1.50 the copy and will be included with all regular subscriptions.

Single weekly copies, 25 cents
Yearly subscription $6.00, including Supplement

THE ART NEWS

20 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

SPECULUM

A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

In SPECULUM appear articles and notes on all phases of mediaeval life and culture.

Of particular interest to students of the Fine Arts is a series of articles now appearing on the Abbey Church at Cluny, embodying the results of the Academy's excavations on the site under the direction of Professor K. J. Conant of Harvard University.

In the issue for January, 1929, appeared a summary of the work done in 1928, illustrated by photographs, drawings, and maps. Restorations of the narthex, the first ever made geometrically, appeared in the April issue. Other important studies are to follow.

Indications are that the Abbey Church of Cluny of 1088 anticipates the greatness of the twelfth-century Romanesque style quite as the Cathedral of Chartres of 1194 anticipates the greatness of the Gothic style of the thirteenth century.

SPECULUM is sent free to members of the Academy. For further information apply to the Executive Secretary.

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

CAMBRIDGE . . . . . MASSACHUSETTS

IMPORTANT ILLUSTRATED ART BOOKS

By Dr. W. R. Valentiner

JACQUES LOUIS DAVID AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Quarto. With reproductions of 28 of the artist's paintings and drawings. Limited edition of 160 copies only, of which 145 are offered at $12.50 each

A brilliant study of the preëminent French painter in whose works one reads the history of an epoch. David bequeathed to posterity not only a new artistic convention but characteristic portraits of the outstanding figures of his time. His influence is still discernible in the field of graphic representation, and for that reason as well as because of the historical importance of his art, he remains one of the most interesting personalities of his day.

THE LATE YEARS OF MICHEL ANGELO

Crown octavo. With 8 full-page collotype plates. Limited edition of 300 copies on Dutch hand-made paper. $10.25 net, delivered

No one has made the mysterious giant of the renaissance live for us in the same degree.
— New York Times

By Dr. Richard Offner

STUDIES IN FLORENTINE PAINTING

Quarto. Illustrated with 4 full-page photogravure plates and 64 full-page plates of halftones. Limited edition of 275 copies. $30.00 net, delivered

At all points Dr. Offner's book displays a fine and cautious connoisseurship and a rich critical intelligence. The book is made with that costly fastidiousness which marks all of Mr. Sherman's publications. — *The Saturday Review of Literature*

By Bernard Berenson

VENETIAN PAINTING IN AMERICA

Small quarto. Photogravure frontispiece and 110 full-page photographic plates in halftone. Limited edition of 1000 copies at $10.25 net, delivered

One of the most significant works of reconstructive criticism that have appeared in recent years on the subject of Italian painting. — *The Dial.*

Of his attractive task Mr. Berenson has made a joyous adventure, writing always with the gusto of liking or misliking. Alike for enjoyment and for minute consideration of attributions and chronology the book must be read widely. — *The Nation*

ESSAYS IN THE STUDY OF SIENESE PAINTING

Small quarto. Photogravure frontispiece and 64 pages of photographic reproductions in halftone. Limited edition of 750 copies at $7.75 net, delivered

The interest of Berenson's writing is not limited to the method and argument. He has created and is constantly creating certain incisive terminology which will remain in the critical vocabulary and will pass into common usage. — *Dr. Giacomo De Nicola.*

Has more charm than anything he has written for a long time. It is the method, it is the attitude, it is the style, which makes over a technical discussion into literature in every sentence and phrase.
— The Bookman

FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN, PUBLISHER
578 Madison Avenue New York City

The Harvard University Press

announces that reprints of the two following articles from the seventh volume of ART STUDIES may be procured, at the affixed prices, on application

The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius

By HELEN WOODRUFF

(50 pages. $3.00)

Pietro Lorenzetti

By ERNEST T. DEWALD

(38 pages. $2.00)

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

7 RANDALL HALL, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

PARNASSUS

Art News for Art Patrons

Published by the

College Art Association of America

Exclusively for Association Members

100 Washington Square East

New York City

THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE OF ART

AN ILLUSTRATED MONTHLY

PUBLISHED BY

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ARTS

Established 1909 as National Organization
Represents 446 Art Museums and
Associations in America

Review of
Contemporary Field of Art
Brief — Trenchant

"The American Magazine of Art is the most dignified, the broadest, and the most valuable of the art journals in this country."—*John Cotton Dana.*

Price $3.00 a year in the U.S.A.

PUBLICATION OFFICE: BARR BUILDING, FARRAGUT SQUARE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NJ. A4 V7

a39001 003078899b

706
Q78
v.7